# REPORT

ON THE

# MOHMANDS,

BY

W. R. H. MERK, ESQUIRE.



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## TABLE OF CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.—GENERAL.


| | |
|---|---|
| Descriptive, Geographical ... | 1 |
| Trade ... | *ib.* |
| Trade routes ... | 2 |
| Transit dues ... | *ib.* |
| Other routes ... | *ib.* |
| Fords in the Cabul river ... | 3 |
| Tolls on rafts ... | *ib.* |
| Buddhist remains ... | 4 |
| Ziarats and shrines in Mohmand country ... | *ib.* |
| The Mullahs ... | 5 |
| The larger villages ... | *ib.* |
| The Hindus ... | *ib.* |
| The non-Mohmand Muhammadans ... | 6 |


CHAPTER II.—HISTORICAL.


| | |
|---|---|
| History and affinities of the Mohmands ... | 6 |
| Mohmands and Shinwaris ... | *ib.* |
| Mohmands and Afridis ... | 7 |
| Mohmands and Bajour ... | *ib.* |
| Mohmands and line of communication, Peshawar and Cabul ... | *ib.* |
| Great divisions of the tribe ... | *ib.* |
| General customs ... | 8 |
| Reasons why Mohmands do not enlist ... | *ib.* |
| Jagirs and allowances of the Mohmands ... | *ib.* |


CHAPTER III.—MOHMANDS AND BRITISH.


| | |
|---|---|
| Relations of the Mohmands with the British ... | 9 |


CHAPTER IV.—THE KHANS OF LALPURA, GOSHTA AND PINDIALI.


| | |
|---|---|
| The Khans of Lalpura and Morcha Khel ... | 11 |
| Earlier Chiefs ... | *ib.* |
| Arsala Khan ... | 12 |
| Maazulla Khan ... | *ib.* |
| Saadat Khan ... | *ib.* |
| Riza Khan ... | 13 |
| Sultan Muhammad Khan ... | *ib.* |
| Nauroz Khan ... | *ib.* |
| Muhammad Shah Khan ... | *ib.* |
| Sons of Sultan Muhammad Khan ... | 14 |
| Muhammad Shah Khan ... | *ib.* |
| The sons of Nauroz Khan—Sadik Khan ... | *ib.* |
| Akbar Khan, Khan of Lalpura ... | 15 |
| Revenues and political position of the Lalpura Khans ... | *ib.* |
| The Khans of Goshta ... | 16 |
| Moghal Khan ... | *ib.* |
| Azim Khan and Syad Amir ... | *ib.* |
| The Pindiali Khans ... | *ib.* |


CHAPTER V.—TRIBAL DIVISIONS.


| | |
|---|---|
| A.—Tarakzai ... | 17 |
| B.—Halimzai ... | 19 |
| C.—Baezai ... | 22 |
| D.—Khwaezai ... | 23 |
| E.—The affiliated clans ... | *ib.* |
| F.—The vassal clans ... | 24 |

Appendix A. Pedigree Table—Mohmand.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| B. | Do. | Tarakzai. |
| C. | Do. | Halimzai. |
| D. | Do. | Khwaezai. |
| E. | Do. | Utmanzai, of Yakhdand. |
| F. | Do. | The Khan Khel of Lalpura. |
| G. | Do. | Do. continued. |

H. Genealogy of the Baezai Khan Khel.

# REPORT ON THE MOHMANDS,

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### I.—GENERAL.

Descriptive, geographical.

The Mohmands are divided into two main sections. The one lives in the plains, in the south-western corner of the Peshawar District; and the other inhabits that network of hills between the Cabul and Swat rivers which connects the Sufed Koh with the Hindu Kush, and forms the barrier at the eastern end of the Ningrahar valley, through which the Cabul river forces its way in a singularly narrow, long, and tortuous gorge, to Peshawar. The Mohmands of the plain have long ago lost touch with their cousins in the hills, and are omitted in this report.

The country of the independent Mohmands may roughly be defined by taking as boundary—to the west and south, the Kunar and Cabul rivers; to the east and north-east, the British border from Fort Michni to Fort Abazai and up the Swat river to where it bends south after leaving the Swat valley; and to the north, the hills of Bajour. It lies within latitude 33°30′ to 34°40′ north, and longitude 70°30′ to 71°30′ east.

A detailed description of this tract will be found in a report by Mr. Scott, Surveyor, published by Government in May 1880.

Suffice it here to say that the settlements of the Mohmands fall naturally into two parts: the rich alluvial lands along the banks of the Cabul river from Jellalabad to Lalpura; this fringe of fertile soil commences at the pretty, but rather swampy, irrigated valley of Kama, and gradually dwindles in proportions down the river, till at Dakka the sterile hills close in upon it.

The second, and by far the most extensive part of Mohmand territory, is comprised in the glens and valleys that radiate from the mountains of Tartara, south of the Cabul (6,400′), and Ilazai north of that river (9,000′ high), and drain into the Cabul and Swat rivers.

The principal of these are the valleys of Shilman, Gandao, Pindiali, the Danish Kul stream, the Mitai glen, Salala, and Bira-darra near Lalpura. They are, as a rule, dry and arid water-courses, raging torrents in heavy rain, but usually presenting a stony and shingly bed, from which slopes of barren ground lead to the rocky spurs and ranges that flank them. With the exception of the Danish Kul stream, running water is not found in them unless in stagnant pools or where tiny streams trickle from the hill-tops; and only in Gandao and Shilman, and occasionally in Kamali, is water sufficiently near the surface to permit of irrigation by Persian wheel wells (*arhat*). The stream of the Bohai Dag valley disappears at the foot of the Ilazai hills, to reappear near Danish Kul; but in Mitai there is an ample supply of water. The aspect of the Mohmand hills is exceedingly dreary, and the eye is everywhere met by dry ravines between long rows of rocky hills and crags, scantily clothed with coarse grass, scrubwood, and the dwarf palm (*mazari*), leading up to the higher peaks of Ilazai and Tartara. These are better wooded, but the lower ranges, and in particular the massive cliffs that tower above Basaule, the Koh-i-Bedaulat, are proverbial for their utter sterility. In summer great want of water is felt, and the desert tracts radiate an intolerable heat; this, coupled with the unhealthiness of the river low-lands, probably accounts for the inferior physique of Mohmands as compared with Afridi and Shinwari neighbours, who in summer retire to the cool highlands of the Sufed Koh,—an explanation which receives support from the fact that the Musa Khel, the only Mohmand clan which is noted for its martial qualities, inhabit the northern slopes of Ilazai, where they enjoy a temperate climate. The villages, or rather fort clusters, are scattered along the valleys wherever a spring or proximity of water to the surface encourages cultivation, often in terraced fields; and there one is refreshed by meeting clumps of trees and willow-shaded streamlets. The Cabul, Gandao and Shilman valleys excepted, the crops in these hills depend entirely upon the winter and autumn rains; and should these fail, there is considerable distress. Even in ordinary times the hills are unable to support the surplus population, which is steadily emigrating to the Yusufzai and Hashtnagar Mairas in the Peshawar District, where they are founding hamlets and villages populated chiefly by members of the Khwaezai, Dawezai, Musa Khel and Safi clans.

Trade.

The products of the Mohmand country are few and rude: a little grain, firewood, grass, charcoal, ropes, and mats of "*mazari*" (the fine mats of Pindiali are celebrated), honey and cattle from the Baezai hills are the chief exports. But through Mohmand limits come to India the wood rafts from Chitral, Kunar, and Lughman on the Cabul, and from Dir and Swat on the Swat river; wax, hides, ghi and rice, from Kunar; the iron of Bajour in lumps and bars, good ore, but imperfectly smelted; gold dust, hawks and falcons and slaves from Kafiristan and Chitral. The wood trade is chiefly, almost exclusively, in the hands of the Kaka Khel of

Ziarat, whose saintly character protects them and their property among the wild tribes and ensures an unmolested passage for their rafts. The imports are salt, cloth, paper, soap, tea, indigo, sugar, grain, tobacco, needles, scissors and other manufactures of civilization, purchased by the Mohmands for themselves and their northern neighbours.

The through trade, therefore, is considerable; and it is with transit dues levied on trade and the profits earned as carriers on mules, donkeys and camels to and from the trade centres of Peshawar, Jellalabad, Pesh Bolak, Lalpura and Shabkadar, that the Mohmands supplement the scanty returns of their barren soil. The Kuchi or nomad clans of the Mohmands, in fact, with some Ghilzai Kuchis, monopolise the camel-carrying trade between Peshawar and Cabul, and depend upon it entirely for their subsistence. An account of them will be found further on.

Trade routes.

Since the Khyber has been opened to traffic, the importance of the former routes through Mohmand territory from Peshawar to Dakka, *viz.* :—

(1) *viâ* Tartara and the Shilman valleys,

(2) from Fort Michni across the Cabul river by the Gutta Gudar and Shanilo ferries into the Shilman valley,

has suddenly collapsed; and the profitable dues levied on them by the Tarakzai and Halimzai clans, and the Khan of Lalpura, have vanished. The latter, however, still continues to take tolls for the Khyber at Dakka. For the reason given below, I will briefly note the different features of the case regarding transit dues for the Khyber and for the Mohmand roads above mentioned. The former has always been considered the King's highway, the "Badshahi rah," while the latter are "*ulusi*" or tribal routes. Although by Afghan custom the independent tribes through whose limits the Khyber passes are by ancient prescriptive rule entitled to levy blackmail on it, and have always done so, taking: the Afridis 2 shares, the Mohmands 1 share and the Shinwaris 1 share; yet the Kings (of Delhi) and afterwards the Saddozai dynasty retained all arrangements regarding the protection of the road and mode of levy and distribution of the dues in their own hands, paying what subsidies they thought fit to the tribes concerned, as their share of the proceeds from the tolls. To a Government whose empire included the Cabul and Peshawar provinces, it was of course of paramount importance to keep the Khyber in its control. But the more difficult and relatively unimportant Mohmand roads were left to the tribe interested in them, to manage; so that in the course of time the clansmen have come to look upon these routes as private property, with which, and the tolls on them, the Government of the day would not interfere beyond enforcing security for traders. As it seems improbable that these routes will again be frequented, no particular interest attaches to the mode of internal tribal division of the income formerly rising therefrom; one-third used to go to the Lalpura Khan, one-third to the Halimzai, and one-third to the Tarakzai. Of the Tarakzai share the Khan Khel of Lalpura took half, and the Dadu Kheyl section half; the Kasim Khel section of the Tarakzai being portionless.

Transit dues.

The relative position of the Khyber and the Mohmand routes is so far of some consequence that the Halimzai and Tarakzai every now and then claim part of the income derived by the Lalpura Khan from dues taken for the Khyber road; but it seems very doubtful if they have any title to claim, since the Khyber nowhere passes through purely Halimzai or Tarakzai ground, which the Mohmand routes undoubtedly do; and even if they had good reason to demand a share, the apportionment of the tolls for the Khyber is distinctly subject to the absolute disposal of the "King."

The Khyber is sufficiently well known, and a minute description of the Mohmand routes is contained in Mr. Scott's report.

Other routes.

Other roads in Mohmand country there are many, as the hills, though rugged and rocky, are nowhere impassable. The main roads, other than on the Peshawar-Dakka line, are :—

(*a.*) From Shab Kadar, *viâ* the Krapa defile to Gandao, and over the Nahaqi Pass to Kamali and Bohai Dag, where it meets road (*f*). It is everywhere practicable and good for camels, and the Nahaqqi Pass is described as easy and not difficult to open for wheeled guns. At Kamali the broad Bohai valley is reached. Water is fairly plentiful along this road. It is chiefly used by traders to Bajour, the Safis and Goshta.

(*b.*) The Alki Kandi track; not an easy camel road, from Shabkadar in the Peshawar District to Pindiali, and thence to Danish Kul; and to the left for Kamali, where it meets road (*a*). Fairly good for mules and much used by Bajouri travellers. Water is scarce till Pindiali is reached.

(*c.*) From Kamali an easy road leads up the Safi valley, to the left to Mitai and over the Spina Suka Pass to Pashat in the Kunar valley; and to the right to Nawagai and Bajour; the latter road was used by Wazir Akbar Khan when taking artillery to Bajour.

(*d.*) Going up the Bohai valley, a difficult track to the left, the Khrosha path leads over the hills to Palosi on the Cabul, and thence to Reina and Lalpura along the river. It is practicable for mules, but difficult and waterless for greater part of the way. This was the line taken by the tribesmen at the Mohmand rising in January 1881, when they came to collect at Reina.

(*e.*) From Bohai Dag an easy road leads to the left, from Koda Khel down the Bira-darra glen to Lalpura. It is practicable for camels; no water between Lalpura and Koda Khel, except half way at Surai.

(*f.*) An easy camel road from Bohai Dag *viâ* the Salala Pass and Mazarichina to Goshta. It is waterless from Goshta to near the Salala Pass.

(*g.*) An easy road leads from Goshta to Chaknewar and thence to Lalpura by the Kulala Pass, waterless from Goshta to Chaknewar; similarly a good road goes from Goshta up the Cabul river to Sangar Serai: routes (*a*) and (*f*) have often been used by traders from Jellalabad to Peshawar, when anxious to avoid the Khyber or Shilman roads; and in the early half of this century when Wazir Akbar Khan, son of the Amir Dost Muhammad Khan, raided Bajour, he is reported to have taken wheeled artillery by route (*f*) from Goshta to Bohai Dag, and thence by route (*c*) to Nowagai in Bajour.

There are many other paths and tracks, but the above are the easiest for traffic.

Troops operating in the trans-Cabul Mohmand hills would probably meet with greater difficulties in the scarcity of water and supplies than from impassable roads. The central position of Bohai Dag is noticeable; a force located there would command every line through the Mohmand country and completely paralyse the tribe.

Fords in the Cabul river.

It may be useful to notice that there is a ford in the Cabul river at Kam Dakka, a little below the village obliquely towards Reina; another about 800 yards below the Fort at Dakka, across to an island and thence to the Lalpura bank; another a little below Girdi and Hazarnao to Shahkot and Girdawe; there is a dangerous ford near Goshta, and one at Ali Boghan. They are all practicable only in the cold weather, and vary from time to time in their position and alignment, and are exceedingly dangerous, owing to the great rush of the stream over the gravel banks (which constitute the ford) into the deep pools immediately below. They should never be tried without competent guides. The fords of this river seem generally to assume a long curve in the shape of a horse-shoe, the toe pointing down stream.

Tolls on rafts.

In the hot weather, traffic on rafts of wood and of inflated skins, is brisk on the large rivers. The boatmen of Lalpura, Goshta, Jellalabad and Kunar are a peculiar race, keeping much to themselves and intermarrying only in their class. Their generic name is "Nilabi," and they have a tradition that they came originally from Bagh Nilab on the Indus, below Attock. The transit dues levied on the rafts are fixed by custom, and the sanction of the Amirs, as follows:—

(1.) On wood rafts, per raft:

The Khan of Lalpura: Rs. 40, out of which Rs. 2 are payable to the Halimzai. The Tarakzai at Michni: Rs. 45, which they divide, the Asaf and Shah Mansur Khel sections taking Rs. 19 each, the Muradi Khel Re. 1, and the Kani Khel Rs. 6. But the Michni men are often guilty of unauthorised exactions.

(2.) On merchandise carried on skin rafts the Khan at Lalpura Rs. 4, the Tarakzai at Michni, Rs. 10.

Should the Khan levy in excess of the fixed rate, the merchants appeal to the Amir; while it is the duty of the Khan to restrain the greed of the Michni Mohmands and to check the Khwaezai, a turbulent set, who often levy dues of their own by force, and, perched on overhanging crags above the river near Palosi, summon the raftsmen, with the whistle of a bullet, to pay up illegal tolls. But generally with a strong Khan at Lalpura the

river is safe and traders are not harried. Young and old of the river Mohmands shew great dexterity in the management of a "*shinaz*" or inflated skin; and I have seen both the former and the present Khan of Lalpura paddle vigorously across the river at Dakka. The hill Mohmands, on the other hand, have a horror of crossing a stream. There is no check on the number of "*shinaz*," and robberies in Ningrahar are not infrequent, the stolen property being immediately carried across to the hills. Boats there are a few at Jellalabad: one at Sangar Serai, one at Goshta, and one at Lalpura—of the ponderous and solid build of the ordinary native boat. They are used for the ferries at those places. The boats at the former ferries of Gutta Gudar and Shanilo are, since the Shilman routes have fallen into disuse, become old and broken. Rafts, made by placing poles, reeds, &c., on inflated skins, are easily procurable, portable and have great carrying power. As an instance shewing the number of skins available, I would mention that on the occasion of the expedition to Kama in June 1880, 450 "*shinaz*" were collected in three days from the river villages.

**Buddhist remains.**

As elsewhere in Northern Afghanistan, Buddhist remains are frequently found in the Mohmand hills, and are invariably ascribed to the Kafirs as constructors; the principal being ruins of a fort or monastery at Gharangai on the Cabul river near the Shanilo ferry; an inscription with figures of horses and men carved in the rock at Surai, 7 or 8 miles from Lalpura in the Bira-darra; stone pillars on the hill-tops round Dakka; the seven wells and the foundations of the fort at Haft Chah in the Khyber; and a series of caves hewn in the face of the Koh-i-Bedaulat cliff, opposite to, and plainly visible from Basaule. A magnificent view is obtained from these caves; they are vaulted chambers about 20 to 24 feet square cut in the rock along a narrow path, and shew traces of having been inhabited, apparently at no distant date, to judge from the smoke-crust which blackens their roofs and walls. The *topes* and mounds in the plains near Pesh Bolak and Jellalabad are well known. Other vestiges of former races in walls and ruined towers built of stone in a style not practised by the present inhabitants, old tanks and wells, are met with throughout these hills; especially near Nowagai in Bajour, which Burnes identifies with the long-sought-for rock fortress of Aornos, though other opinion is more in favor of a site nearer the Indus.

**Ziarats and shrines in Mohmand country.**

The chief ziarats and shrines of the Mohmands are:—the ziarat of Murzadwali Baba at Danish Kul, well known in north-eastern Afghanistan. The saint who is buried there lived about 260 or 280 years ago at Kam Lalpura (a small village 2 miles below Lalpura); his body was moved to Danish Kul by his descendants, who enjoy great respect and gifts of many lands in Gandao, among the Safis, at Lalpura and in Bajour. As his name implies, he was recognised as a "Wali" upon his birth, and the legend goes that his mother, when pregnant, having gone one day to pick "Gurgurra" berries, the boughs gently bent down of themselves to be plucked, as she passed from tree to tree,—a tribute to the virtues of her child. Who his ancestors were, is unknown, but he is held in deep veneration, for ever since he lived there, Kam Lalpura has possessed the privilege of sanctuary; its limits extend from the yellow ravine that lies between Kam Lalpura and Lalpura to the ziarat of Mazub Baba near Palosi. Murderers and outlaws live secure in the protection of Murzadwali Baba; and in a case which I saw myself, a man of Lalpura, who was literally the avenger of blood, stopped in the pursuit of his enemy as soon as the latter had crossed the boundary of Kam Lalpura. Pilgrims from long distances visit the grave at Danish Kul and bring from the tomb handfulls of earth or pebbles, considering them powerful charms and remedies for all kinds of ailments.

Next in degree is the ziarat of Mazub Baba, by tribe a Kukkozai from Hazarnao, and a "*murid*" or disciple of Murzadwali, by whose reflected light he shines. His grave is situated about 3 miles below Parchao, on the left bank of the Cabul river, and is a walled enclosure covered with flags and votive offerings. The descendants of Mazub Baba hold the villages of Reina and Parchao as a gift from the Mohmands. Both they and the descendants of Murzadwali collect offerings from the tribes, generally 2 or 3 seers of grain from every plough at harvest, and have partitioned off the clans among themselves, a clan or part of a clan being allotted to each family of Mians for their support. Minor ziarats are innumerable; wherever fakirs or Mians have died, or a deed of peculiar atrocity has invested the victim with the sympathy of the people, a flag is erected and a line of stones is ranged facing west, for the traveller to pray.

On the very summit of Ilazai and of Tartara are two of those curious nameless ziarats believed to be the resting-places of brothers; other brothers are said to lie buried on the Chingai hill near Abazai, at Panjpir in Yusufzai, and on the Hasan Abdal hill. According to another version these brothers are the children of Baba Wali at Kandahar; doubtless in these isolated shrines on inaccessible hill-tops we find relics of some former creed which have been adapted to the popular ziarat worship of modern Muhammadans.

There is no colony of Syads in the Mohmand country; but descendants of the well-known Mians of Papin in the Sufed Koh are settled at Chaknewar and Smutse near Lalpura.

The Mullahs.

Mians and Mullahs fulfil much the same secular purposes as the monks of Europe did in the middle ages; they act as trustees and custodians of property, as the protectors of women and children committed to their charge, and are the mediators and messengers in family or tribal strife. Their intimate cohesion and the ramifications of their class through the tribes makes them an admirable instrument for organizing a popular movement, and probably the prominent share they took in the recent war was due equally to the fanaticism of the people and to the conviction of the tribal Chiefs and Khans (who have all their rivals and enemies), that the only effectual way to unite their own and other clans for a common aim, was to put forward neutral and universally respected leaders, whom none could object to, and who in the members of the priestly classes possessed willing and obedient agents in every village of the heterogeneous Afghan population. Arrogant and overbearing, factious among themselves, fanatically bigotted, narrow and ignorant, respected and feared by the people, they are not without good qualities. Though their attention is much directed to ceremonial trifles and their time wasted in disputations on technical niceties or in intestine intrigue, yet their voice is always heard on the side of order and justice and their influence exerted towards the healing of disputes. For selfish purposes they encourage the superstitious bias of the people, but at the same time they inculcate truth, purity, sobriety; and ineffectual though they be, their efforts are ever unceasing to eradicate the degrading custom of barter and sale of women, universal among Afghans.

Excellent illustrations of the types prevalent among Mohmand Mullahs are embodied in the persons of the Haji Sahib of Bedmani near Mitai, and the notorious Mullah Khalil of Mullah Fahim Killi in Khwaezai.

The Haji is a Miro Khel Baezai Mohmand, a Haji, now of venerable age and deeply venerated for his blameless life and pure character. His peaceful counsels restrained many from joining in the risings instigated and led by Mullah Khalil during the Afghan war; yet even the good Haji caused bloodshed last year among the Dawezai, in counteracting the party of Mullah Khalil. He inclines towards Akbar Khan of Lalpura and his influence is greatest with the Baezai, though considerable also in the other Mohmand clans.

Mullah Khalil is the grandson of a Swati from Pakhli in the Hazara District. A man of little education and of an insatiable ambition and lust of power, he represents the narrow and warrior school of Mullahs; and distinguished himself by leading three unsuccessful attacks upon the line of communication: at Kam Dakka in March 1879, at Dakka in January 1880, and at Besud and Kama in July 1880. His failures have much shaken the hold he had acquired over the hillmen by his fanatical exhortations, and at the present moment he has little influence out of Khwaezai bounds. He is attached to the party of the elder Mian Gul of Swat, and led Sadiq Khan to rebellion and ruin. He recently obtained a grant of Rs. 2,000 a year from the Amir of Cabul, which has since been resumed. Mullahs of less note are Mullah Kudus of Lakkai in Kamali; Mullah Abdulla of Badisia in Gandao; Mullah Mir Afzal of Spinki Tangi, now in Kunar, and Mullah Said of Lalpura. The last was friendly disposed to us and has been made Kazi of Lalpura by Akbar Khan. The Khan has the power of appointing the Kazi.

The larger villages.

No village of the Mohmands approaches the dimensions of a town; but Yakhdaud, K[illegible]ing, Lalpura, Sangar Serai and the river villages—Girdi, Hazarnao, Basaule, Chardeh, Alachipur—are populous enough to dispense with fortifications against tribal attacks. These large villages number each from 300 to 600 families; the largest are Lalpura, Sangar Serai and Yakhdaud. Other villages are either single large forts with mud walls and one or more flanking towers, or else each sub-section of the village lives in its own fort, among its own fields, the fort being known by the name of the temporary owner, *e. g.*, Killa-i-Fatteh or Garhi Wazir; a good specimen of this species of scattered village forts is the village of Gulai, or of Goshta. The villages of Mians of course require no protection.

The Hindus.

The larger villages contain from 1 to 50 families of Hindus, who gain their living as bankers, accountants to the Khans, grain-dealers, grocers, pawn-brokers, goldsmiths and cloth-merchants. They are rarely much oppressed, and though not permitted to ride and obliged to wear a distinctive dress (trousers striped vertically with red), they seem to be fairly happy. In return for fees paid at births and marriages and the rent of their shops, the Khans and leading headmen protect them from the exactions of others. In times of need the Hindus are no doubt squeezed by their own protectors, but it is looked upon as a not unfair accident, and if a Hindu is too much worried, he can always escape to some other village. Many are wealthy by the local standard of riches. Idolatry is sternly forbidden, but otherwise their religious worship is not interfered with, and crowds of these Hindus come through Peshawar every year to the Hardwar Fair. They have occasionally supplied political information to our troops; but though generally correct, it is of necessity very meagre and incomplete, as Hindus are never taken into the confidence of the leading Chiefs, tribal Jirgas and Mullahs who initiate movements. A Mian of standing is always likely to have the best information.

The Hindus have adopted many of the barbarous customs of their Afghan masters ; for instance blood feuds are not uncommon ; Prabha, a leading Hindu of Lalpura, is fond of relating proudly how he stabbed to death five unarmed Hindus in a dharmsala, with whom he had quarelled about a woman. Hindu women are sold in marriage and widows always re-marry.

The non-Mohmand Muhammadans.

Besides the Mohmands, the sole owners of the soil, every village contains some families of carpenters, blacksmiths, weavers, barbers, potters; and in the larger villages live Perachas, a class of Muhammadan traders, who are probably descendants of converts from Hinduism. In addition there is a fluctuating population of agricultural labourers and tenants of the soil belonging to miscellaneous races, who cultivate on the Métayer system, paying from two-fifths to one-half of the produce to the land-owners.

With the exception of sugarcane, the ordinary crops of the Upper Punjab and the Peshawar District are produced in the Mohmand country.

## II.—HISTORICAL.

History and affinities of the Mohmands.

History and tradition alike relate that the Mohmands formed one of that group of cognate Afghan races which, moving eastwards from the Cabul or Ghazni hills, probably before the pressure of Mongol and Hazara invasion, settled between the 13th and 15th centuries in Swat, Buner, Yusafzai, Dir, Bajour and the hills now occupied by the Mohmands, expelling or subduing the original native population of Hindus and non-Afghan races. It is not in the limits of these notes to discuss where is the original home of the invaders, the " Ghwara Margha, " to which popular belief ascribes every excellence of climate and fertility; it is enough to notice that there is a village called Mohmand near Kandahar, and that the summer settlements of the Mohmand Kuchis or nomads on the lofty highlands of the Upper Helnand and the Unai Pass have probably been retained from the days when the bulk of the tribe dwelt there. The Yusafzai and Mohmands do undoubtedly differ much in dialect, tribal constitution, dress and appearance, from the contiguous Afridis, Shinwaris and Khataks, to whom Afghan pedigrees assign a place implying relationship with Indian races. Their Pashtu differs as much from the broad speech of the Afridis, as it does from the singing intonation of Shinwaris, and approaches closely to the dialects of Cabul, using fewer words of clearly Punjabi origin. Their tribal constitution again is more aristocratic, and the power of the Khans more developed, than in the little republics of the Sufed Koh and Tirah. It is singular, too, that Afridis and Shinwaris never wear blue, the favorite colour for turbans and shirts with Yusafzais and Mohmands; and that the latter scarcely ever use the long Afghan knife, much preferring a sword. On the other hand, knives are the common weapon of Afridis, Shinwaris and Ghilzais. The points of agreement of Mohmands with Yusafzais support strongly the tribal traditions which assign to them a common origin.

Mohmands and Shinwaris.

After settling down in the hills between the Cabul and Swat rivers, and detaching a branch to the Peshawar plain, the Mohmand set themselves to fighting with their neighbours, and, owing to their superior organisation, succeeded during the last century in wresting Kamali and Mitai from Bajour and driving the Shinwaris out of the Shilman valleys and the lowlying country south of the Cabul river. In this they succeeded, not so much from superior numbers or fighting qualities, for they have neither, as from their greater power of concentration. In the Khans of Goshta and Lalpura the Mohmands possess distinct hereditary leaders who, with their comparatively greater resources, are able to unite and keep in the field a larger number of fighting men at a given time than the Shinwaris, who without a recognised head can combine only on dire necessity. A guerilla war of raid and counter-raid for centuries has gradually desolated the tracts where Mohmand meets Shinwari; and the belt of desert, 20 miles broad and 30 miles in length, which stretches from Lundi Kotal to Pesh Bolak, bears witness in the ruins of Shinwari villages to the destructive irruptions of the Lalpura horsemen. It is these that the Shinwaris, mountaineers as they are, particularly dread. The occasions on which the tribes have fought *en masse* in stand up battles, are few. During the Khanship of Shat Khan, Shilman was won in a fight near Haft Chah. A Khwaezai Mohmand called Paindai distinguished himself by slaying the Shinwari champion, but being killed himself towards the end of the fighting, was buried on the spot: whence Paindi Khak, a post half way from Haft Chah to Lundi Kotal. Next, in a battle fought at Qilao near Pesh Bolak, the Mohmands took and occupied Gulai, led by Arsala Khan of Lalpura. His brother Maazulla Khan was defeated at Loargai, and lost to the Sangu Khel the famous war drum called "Shinkai." To judge from descriptions this fetish of the Sangu Khel is a brass kettle drum probably captured by the Mohmands from the Mogal army of Aurangzebe, when it was annihilated in the Khyber. The Karmu-nmasi section of the Sangu Khel are its hereditary custodians; it is never beaten unless on the very gravest trouble, when its notes are said to sound from Nazian to Jellalabad, throughout Shinwari land. As an oracle it is consulted before important forays, sounding of itself if the raid is to be successful. For some time the Mohmands appear to have

remained quiet after this ill-fortune. But Saadat Khan collected their forces, a few years before the first Afghan war, and raided Deh Sarak, burning many villages; in revenge for attacks suffered by the Tirahis of Kot, who, in the great tribal feuds of Ningrahar, range themselves with the Mohmands.

In 1840, Torabaz Khan, then in power at Lalpura, rendered material aid to Mackeson when an expedition ascended the Nazian valley to punish the Sangu Khel Shinwaris.

In later days Nauroz Khan twice gathered the Mohmand clansmen in support of the Jellalabad Governor, but both times the levies dispersed after desultory skirmishes, the Shinwaris making a show of submission. And last year again, the Governor of Jellalabad called out the Mohmands, and, moving with them on Pesh Bolak, compelled the Sangu Khel to restore the goods of a plundered caravan. The great factions of Ningrahar being Ghilzai and Shinwari against Mohmand, Safi and Khugiani, the latter tribes are always made use of to control the former. When the general Shinwari feud slumbers, the border villages keep ill-feeling awake by constant reprisals, and scarcely a month passes without bloodshed. Between the Mir Jan Khel and part of the Sangu Khel on one side, and the villages of Dakka, Girdi, Hazarnao, Gulai and the Mohmand Kuchis on the other, is a peculiarly bitter vendetta, which blazes up spasmodically after brief intervals of uncertain truce. Intermarriages among the leading families of the hostile clans are, however, not uncommon. The Mohmands give expression to their hatred of Shinwaris in a proverb, to the effect that no kindness will tame a snake, scorpion or Shinwari; to which the Shinwaris reply by insulting tales reflecting on Mohmand courage. Summoned by the Hakim of Jellalabad to punish the savage robbers of the Sufed Koh or to collect revenue from outlying and recusant villages, the Mohmand horse and foot would come suddenly over the Cabul river in force, harry the country up to the foot of the hills, and then retire behind the protection of the deep stream, which their enemies knew not how to cross. These exploits, their intimate relations with the Cabul Government, the miniature pomp and state of their Khans, and their power of united action have given them a martial reputation among the people out of all proportion with the facts. They are not such dangerous foes as Afridis or Shinwaris, and are wanting in that ferocity and reckless disregard of life which are so characteristic of these comparatively less civilised tribes.

Mohmands and Afridis.

With the Afridis, the Mohmands appear to have come into hostile contact only once, when the Zakka Khel raided on, and closed the Khyber after it had been opened by the Amir Sher Ali Khan The Mir Akhor took Sultan Muhammad Khan of Lalpura and his men with him to Bazar on a punitive expedition. But the collision was official, and does not seem to have led to an intertribal feud. Still, although the Lalpura Khans have intermarried with Afridi families, the relations of the tribes are not cordial but cold, and the clan of the Tartarra Mullagoris, vassals of the Mohmands, carries on active hostilities with the Kuki Khel and Zakka Khel Afridis.

Mohmands and Bajour.

The Mohmands stand on a fairly good footing with Bajour and Kunar; indeed the Musa Khel receive subsidies from the Badshah of Kunar; and no doubt the feeling towards Bajouris and the inhabitants of the Kunar valley is more that entertained for friendly and distant relatives than antipathy to strangers, and therefore enemies. But even with Mohmands and Shinwaris amicable intercourse may, and often does, exist between individual members, though the tribes be actively hostile at the time; and if private friendships are forgotten while there is fighting along the line, they are resumed when peace is restored.

Mohmands and line of communication. Peshawar and Cabul.

As regards the line of communications from Peshawar to Cabul, the only tribes that are practically able to give serious annoyance are the Afridis, the Sangu Khel and the Ghilzais. During the late war the Mohmands rose repeatedly with much clamour; but after their narrow escape from an overwhelming disaster at Dakka in January 1880, they confined themselves to impotent demonstrations on the left bank of the river. They had appreciated the error which was committed when they crossed the Cabul river, and it is exceedingly improbable that on any future occasion they will give much trouble. Their border towards the Peshawar District is easily open to attack.

Great divisions of the tribe.

* *Vide* Appendix A.

† *Vide* Appendix A.

The Mohmand tribe consists of four main divisions: the Tarakzai, Halimzai, Baezai and Khwaezai,* who are located in a compact body in the hills. A fringe of affiliated clans,† the Kukkozai, Dawezai and Utmanzai surrounds the tribe; it is further hedged on the slopes of the Tartarra range by the vassal clan of the Mullagoris, and towards Bajour by the Safis. In tribal politics the Tarakzai, jointly with the Halimzai, the Baezai and the Khwaezai, occupy each a distinct and independent position. There are no broad internal feuds; but since the death of Malik Ahmed Sher, Halimzai, who was seized by the Baezai and delivered to the Amir Sher Ali Khan at Cabul

where he died, these two clans have not been on good terms; and the ill-feeling is fomented by the rivalry between the Khans of Lalpura and the Khans of Goshta, who are respectively the Chiefs of the hostile tribal divisions. But the Khans do not take an active part in the feud.

General customs.

Private blood feuds are common, and every village is liable to be torn by violent quarrels attended with bloodshed, which arise often on the slightest cause. The hostile parties at once shut themselves up in their forts, and commence a fusilade at long ranges. The only way to reduce these forts, in the absence of heavy guns, is to seize their water, which is generally drawn from contiguous ponds or streams, they rarely contain wells. Consequently, in fighting it is the first aim of each party to gain possession of the water-supply of its opponent; and if it is under fire of the enemy, women who are theoretically never fired at, have to undertake the dangerous task of bringing water to the beleaguered garrison. The feud then rages till the neighbours, stepping in, effect a settlement or take up arms in the fray and burn the villages of the weaker party. But the remarkable system which obtains among the independent Yusafzais of Swat and Buner, where the whole country is divided into two parties—who alternately turn each other, generally with little bloodshed, out of power and home—is unknown among the Mohmands. Their social and domestic customs differ in no material respect from those of their Yusafzai cousins. It is noticeable, however, that the "Vaish," the periodical re-distribution of tribal lands, has entirely ceased throughout the Mohmand tribe. Each family possesses its hereditary piece of land, which it can sell or mortgage at will; and, strange to say, among so lawless a people, debts, mortgages and sales are scrupulously respected and effected. A characteristic trait of Mohmands is great pride and haughtiness; they are, as Burnes says, "somewhat less rapacious than their neighbours of the Khyber," and more civilised and polished; but they bear an evil reputation for treachery and ruthless cruelty, and their bravery is open to doubt. Some of their sections, especially the Burhan Khel and the Tarakzai, are stained with an infamous traffic in women, who are kidnapped in Swat, Buner, and Bajour and passed on by the Utman Khel to the Mohmands; they in turn sell them to the Adam Khel Afridis and the Orakzai. Few Mohmands enlist for service in the British army; the reason is probably that the attention of the body of the tribe is more directed towards Ningrahar and Cabul, and that the requirements of the Amir and of the local Khans absorb those restless spirits who are anxious to leave their homes. And the large jagirs of the tribe and the income from transit dues appear to supplement sufficiently for their wants the livelihood they gain in their barren hills.

Reasons why Mohmands do not enlist.

Jagirs and allowances of the Mohmands.

Their exceptionally favorable situation for harassing simultaneously Ningrahar and the Peshawar plains, and the power they possessed of closing several trade routes from Cabul to India, early induced former Governments to confer upon the Mohmands and their leaders large and valuable jagirs, and to give them permission to levy heavy tolls on road and river, as a sop to their marauding propensities. At annexation, greater part of the Mohmand jagirs in Peshawar were forfeited, nor were they restored although the border was kept for years in excitement by the angry tribe. The forfeited jagirs lay round the city of Peshawar, they were originally granted to the Khans of Lalpura and the Tarakzai, and were probably the link between the plain Mohmands and their brethren in the hills.

The grants of revenue and tolls, at present held by the tribe, are as follows :—

(1.) The jagirs of the Goshta and Chardeh families, *vide* below, probably worth from Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 25,000 per annum.

(2.) A cash allowance of Rs. 12,000 per annum to the Baezai, granted by Sher Ali Khan after the rebellion of Nauroz Khan of Lalpura; but resumed by Yakub Khan.

(3.) The jagirs of the Khans of Lalpura and the Morcha Khel, *vide* below, worth about Rs. 1,25,000 a year.

(4.) The river dues at Lalpura, to the Lalpura Khan, farmed for about Rs. 7,000 per annum.

(5.) The transit dues on the Shilman routes, to the Khan, the Tarakzai and Halimzai; now extinct.

(6.) The river tolls at Michni, to the Tarakzai, worth about Rs. 5,000 or Rs. 6,000 per annum.

(7.) The tolls at Dakka for the Khyber, producing about Rs. 40,000 or Rs. 50,000 per annum, at present enjoyed by the Lalpura Khan. The Cabul Government will probably claim greater part thereof.

(8.) A cash allowance of Rs. 9,000 Cabuli, to the Halimzai tribe; Rs. 6,000 to the Gandao section; Rs. 3,000 to the Kamali men; paid through the Khan of Lalpura.

(9.) The Tarakzai: 13 villages revenue free in the Doaba tahsil, Peshawar District; value of grant, Rs. 3,430 per annum.

(10.) The Halimzai: the villages of Panjpao, tahsil Doaba, Peshawar, revenue free; value of grant, Rs. 2,947 per annum.

(11.) Pirdost Khan, head of the Isa Khel sub-division, the village of Sardar Garhi, tahsil Doaba, Peshawar; value of grant, Rs. 800 per annum.

It will be seen that fortune has been kind to the Mohmands.

## III.—MOHMANDS AND BRITISH.

Relations of the Mohmands with the British.

Burnes was the first Englishman to come into actual contact with the Mohmands in 1832, *vide* pp. 114-122 of "Travels to Bokhara." They were soon to see more of the English. When in 1838 the news travelled up that the Feringhis were coming, Saadat Khan, son of Sadulla Khan of Lalpura, was in power; and Torabaz Khan, his nephew and enemy, immediately started off to meet the army at Jhelum. Saadat Khan thereupon espoused the cause of the Barakzai, and Torabaz Khan was installed in Lalpura by Colonel Wade. He seems to have done loyal service for Mackeson while we held Afghanistan. After the disasters at Cabul the whole country rose, and Torabaz Khan, at risk to himself, saved an English lady and her child from the Pesh Bolak garrison (Mrs. Ferris, I believe), and took her down the river on a raft to Peshawar. The little English baby is still well remembered by the greybeards along the river. The officers of the Jezailchis stationed at Pesh Bolak escaped over the Tartarra hills, and Torabaz Khan himself fled to Peshawar. He returned with General Pollock's force, but was ousted by Saadat Khan on retirement of our troops. He subsequently made his peace with the Amir and received a jagir in Kama.

Upon the annexation of the Peshawar District troubles immediately commenced on the Peshawar-Mohmand border. Saadat Khan was naturally not well disposed to us and did his best to incite the tribe to hostilities. They commenced by an attack on the village of Shabkadar in December 1851, led by Fatteh Muhammad Khan, son of Saadat Khan. This was followed by raids in 1851, on the part of the Isa Khel and Burhan Khel; whose Chief, Nawab Khan, after supporting us in the first Afghan war, had turned into a determined enemy of the British. The excitement spread to the Tarakzai, and in October 1851 a column moved out from Peshawar and destroyed the Michni villages. This had no particular effect, and it was determined to construct forts at Michni and Shabkadar. They were completed in December 1851, the Mohmands led by Saadat Khan continuing to make inroads. In July 1852 the Michni Mohmands submitted, and then followed a brief period of quiet. But in 1854 the Michni men again rebelled, and in September of that year their villages were again destroyed. Government was firm in refusing to release the confiscated jagirs of the Tarakzai, and from January 1855 to March 1860 the Mohmands committed outrage upon outrage,—no less than 83 serious offences in 5 years,—coming down three and four hundred strong to plunder and to murder. One cannot help reading the list of their misdoings (*cf.* MacGregor, Volume II., paragraphs 480 to 486) with amazement—if the condition of affairs, then, is contrasted with the peace, now, which broods on the Mohmand frontier and is rarely broken by even the heinous robbery of a goat or two. In spring 1860, under pressure from the Cabul Government, Saadat Khan affected to be reconciled, and for two years was at rest. The excitement of the Umbeyla campaign, however, and the urgent summons of the Akhund he could not resist; and in December 1863 a series of skirmishes took place with large bodies of tribesmen raised by his sons. Finally, on the 2nd January 1864, a decisive action was fought near Shabkadar, the numbers of the Mohmands had increased to about 5,500 men; our force consisted of 460 cavalry and 1,200 infantry with 3 guns. The Mohmands lost 40 killed and were dispersed. In consequence of remonstrances by our Government, Sher Ali Khan then seized Saadat Khan and his son Nauroz Khan, and appointed Riza Khan *vice* Saadat Khan to the Lalpura Khanship. Since then the Mohmands have given no trouble on the Michni-Abazai line. The lessons to be learnt from these events are.—*First*, that it appears to be the interest of Government to have a friendly Khan at Lalpura; and *second*, that if the Khan and tribe mean evil, the forts of Michni and Shabkadar are practically useless, as a safeguard against raids. The question of the jagirs was now placed on a satisfactory footing, and after 1864 the Mohmands have, as a rule, behaved well towards the Peshawar District.

In 1873, in consequence of the ruffianly murder of Major Macdonald, Commandant of Fort Michni, a fine of Rs. 10,000 was imposed upon the Michni Tarakzai, which they paid without a murmur. Though not active participators in the deed, which was instigated by Bahram Khan, half brother of Nauroz Khan, they had neglected to give warning of an act which they well knew was meditated. Bahram Khan had been placed at Sadin to arrange for the safety of the Abkhana caravan route, and is a man whose ill-conditioned mind has lost its balance by long indulgence in *charras* and opium. He fled to Ningrahar and has evaded all attempts at capture, but in 1879 those of his retainers who had actually cut down Major Macdonald were seized at Dakka and met with their well-

deserved through long-delayed fate in Peshawar. The troubles which ensued in Lalpura after the arrest of Yakub Khan in 1874 and the flight of Nauroz Khan did not extend to our border; and after the death of Nauroz Khan, in 1877, his sons paid repeated visits to Peshawar. When war was declared in 1878, Muhammad Shah, Khan of Lalpura, sent a Mohmand contingent to co-operate with the Amir's troops at Ali Masjid, on the Rotas hill; but they fled without firing a shot, and Muhammad Shah Khan came in at once to Sir S. Browne at Dakka and tendered his submission. The sons of Nauroz Khan were then with Sir L. Cavagnari. The Chardeh family also joined us, but Moghal Khan of Goshta held aloof, although his father, Taj Muhammad Khan, had always been well disposed. Muhammad Shah Khan was recognised as Khan of Lalpura and did fairly good service; he was, however, much cramped in his efforts to counteract the agitation of the Mullahs by the loss of the Lalpura jagirs, which had been confiscated at the rebellion of Nauroz Khan by the Amir, and were not restored to the Khan upon the advance of our forces. The fanatical preaching of the religious classes soon made the people get out of hand, and their excitement found vent in an attack on Mr. Scott, Surveyor, at Zankhai above Michni, in which he barely escaped with his life; this was in spring 1879. The sub-divisions of the Tarakzai and Halimzai implicated were fined Rs. 2,000, which they have since paid up. The outrage was precipitated by a wandering mendicant Mullah, known as the Faqir of Mian Isa, from the village in the Doaba tahsil, where he had long resided. Probably a Kandahari by birth, he took to the hills at the outbreak of hostilities, and soon gained influence among the ignorant clansmen. In 1880 he went to Ningrahar and gave some trouble there, and eventually found his way to Cabul, where his presumption led him into collision with the Amir Abdur Rahman Khan, and he has disappeared from that date. More serious than the Zankhai affair was the gathering headed by Mullah Khalil in March 1879. The Mohmands, to the number of 3,000, crossed the river at Kam Dakka, and as by some mistake only a company of the Mairwarra battalion was sent to that village, they would have secured a temporary triumph but for the cool gallantry of Major Creagh, v.c. A column which came to his assistance from Lundi Kotal did some execution, and before other troops could arrive on the scene the Mohmands had dispersed and re-crossed the river. In April 1879, Sadik Khan, elder son of Nauroz Khan, fled from our camp at Gundamuk and joined the Amir Yakub Khan, the son of his father's sister, by whom he was appointed Khan of Lalpura. Muhammad Shah Khan was removed as soon as our troops left Dakka, in June 1879. Moghal Khan had not come in, but remained in sullen retirement at Goshta, till the country was evacuated by our army; he then visited the Amir Yakub Khan. When the second advance took place, Sadik Khan of Lalpura hesitated for some days, but at last appeared at Dakka; and for two months all went well at Lalpura, and at Goshta also, where Moghal Khan sat in an attitude of passive hostility. The journey of the Amir Yakub Khan to India gave the first shock to the Mohmands, whose minds were further agitated by the fighting at Cabul, and the flight of the Governor of Jellalabad, Muhammad Hassan Khan, a devoted adherent of the ex-Amir and a friend of both the young Khans. Moghal Khan was the first to go, in December 1879; but his gathering was speedily broken up by a cannonade across the river from Chardeh, whose Khans again remained loyal to the British; partly from inclination and partly from enmity to Moghal Khan. Mullah Khalil had for some time been rousing the impressionable tribesmen and working on Sadik Khan, believing, after the fighting at Cabul, that Afghanistan would eventually be evacuated by the British army and fall into the hands of the Sher Ali dynasty, his relatives, whom he could never face if at the crisis, he remained inert in their cause; and, unable to bear the taunts and passionate messages of the Mullahs, of Muhammad Hassan Khan and Moghal Khan, he retired from Lalpura to Reina in January 1880, and put himself at the head of the men who had already collected there with Mullah Khalil. The movement, having gained the tribal Chief as its leader, spread, and the Mohmands flocked down to Palosi and Reina. Meanwhile an important diversion was effected by detaching Akbar Khan, his brother, who was appointed by Government, his successor at Lalpura. In the circumstances, he was unable to render much active assistance, but one-half of the Nauroz Khan interest, the most powerful one in the tribe, was thus secured to Government. On the 14th the Mohmands, about 5,400 strong, had crossed and occupied a difficult position on the Gara hill about 2 miles from fort Dakka; and on the 15th January they were attacked by a column (700 infantry, 1 squadron and 4 guns, Royal Horse Artillery) from Dakka, while another from Lundi Kotal moved on Kam Dakka, with the intention of seizing their flank and rear. Had the operation succeeded, they would have been annihilated, for, surrounded on three sides by our troops and the unfordable Cabul river in their rear, they had no chance of escape. The Lundi Kotal column was, however, delayed, and the Mohmands, after being driven off the Gara hill, made good their retreat, losing about 120 men killed in the action. Though fortunate so far, they thoroughly realized the egregious error they had committed in crossing the river and never attempted it again. For some months the Mohmand opposition remained quiet, and our nominees at Goshta and Lalpura consolidated their influence. In June 1880, the united bands of Mogal Khan and Sadik Khan raided on Kama and carried off the land revenue, retiring in haste before the approach of our troops. In July again they attempted to close the river at Basaule, for the passage of our rafts, but were attacked by Akbar Khan of Lalpura and dispersed at night. Finally, in August 1880, the news that Abdur Rahman Khan had been appointed Amir ruined the hopes of the ex-Khans, who had acted throughout on the assumption that one of the sons of Sher Ali Khan would occupy the throne of Cabul. Eventually they humbly paid their respects to the new Amir. But Akbar

Khan remained Khan of Lalpura. About the time of Ayub Khan's success at Kandahar, preparations were made for a rising which collapsed as soon as the news arrived of his defeat, and now Moghal Khan at Goshta and Sadik Khan in his jagirs at Baru bitterly regret the impulsive dreams that tempted them to opposition.

I would conclude by noting, that the results of our relations with the Mohmands during the last decade seem to shew that, on the Peshawar border, the tribe has settled down to peaceful intercourse, and as regards the line of communications to Cabul, that little danger is to be apprehended if they are roughly handled ; and that the river serves as a complete protection to the right flank of the line as far as Jellalabad.

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## IV.—THE KHANS OF LALPURA, GOSHTA AND PINDIALI.

The Chiefs who are recognised as Khans of the Mohmands, are those of Lalpura, Goshta and Pindiali. Of these, the most important are the Lalpura Khans. Though the Pindiali family claims a more ancient origin and the now extinct Khans of the Khwaezai traced their line to distant times, the house of Lalpura, for Afghans, is of very respectable antiquity. A full pedigree will be found in appendices F and G.

The Khans of Lalpura and Morcha Khel.

The founder of its fortunes was Malik Morcha, a leading man in the Durma Kor sub-section of the Shah Mansur clan of the Tarakzai tribe, settled at Lalpura, which, in those days, lay on the right bank of the Cabul river, about three quarters of a mile below fort Dakka, where a few grass-grown mounds near Srikh ziarat mark the site of their ancestral home. Popular tradition ascribes the rapid rise of the Khans to a blessing of Murzad Wali Baba (*vide* above), who lived opposite at Kam Lalpura. Malik Morcha had rescued a maid-servant of the saint from Khwaezai robbers, and in gratitude he blessed the Malik and conferred upon his progeny the Morcha Khel, the Khanship of Lalpura, wealth and power, for several generations ; but their prosperity was to be accompanied by bloodshed and disunion. This condition has certainly attached to the office of Khan, and few of the more conspicuous members of the family have died in their beds, being generally murdered by their nearest relations. The true causes of the success of the Morcha Khel are more probably to be found in the energetic and adventurous character of its earlier members, which impelled them to seek service with the Mogul Emperors ; and in the former situation of Lalpura, which commanded the point whence diverge the roads to Peshawar by the Khyber or through Shilman. It was also an outpost towards the Shinwaris. The Morcha Khel, therefore, led the Mohmands to battle with their hereditary foes, were pre-eminently worth conciliating to those who made use of the trade routes to India, and, with the prestige of imperial service and the substantial tokens of imperial favor, rapidly reached distinction and eclipsed rival leading families.

Malik Morcha lived during the reign of Akbar Shah and served at Moradabad, returning afterwards to take charge of the Mogul fort near Dakka, of which he and his sons appear to have acquired the hereditary command. Its ruins are still faintly traceable about a mile below Fort Dakka. Nothing is known of his son Kalandar Khan, except that he had six sons ; the descendants of five are obscure and live scattered in Ningrahar and in the Peshawar valley (*vide* appendix F). The sixth, Shat Khan, is reported to have been for some time in the service

Earlier Chiefs.

of Shah Jehan, and was killed in a skirmish with the Shinwaris. His son was Muqarrab Khan, who is said to have accompanied Nadir Shah to Delhi. He removed the village of Lalpura to its present site on the left bank of the river, at the request of Mazub Baba, who lies buried at Ziarat below Parchao and was a disciple of Mursad Wali. Muqarrab Khan had two wives, Jahana, a Morcha Khel, and Araba, a Khwaezai woman. The descendants of the former (*vide* appendix F) have never held the Khanship, and occupy an inferior position in Lalpura. The principal living members of the Jahanai Kor, as they are called, are Nasir Khan (an intelligent grey-beard, and a trusted retainer of Akbar Khan), his brothers Shah Wali and Mansur; Faqir Muhammad, an adherent of Akbar Khan and head of his section, the Naib Khel or hereditary deputies of the Khans ; and Paindai, who is of less importance. The Jahanai Kor live in Lalpura, and the majority of this sub-division sides with Akbar Khan.

The descendants of Mussammat Araba, the Arabai Kor, are the Khan Khel ; they are confined again to the descendants of Zain Khan Baba, who may be considered the first Khan of Lalpura. Other sons of Mussammat Araba were Payindai, and Hakim, who was killed in Kashmir. Their chief living representatives are Bahadur Khan, a follower of the Amir Abdur Rahman Khan, with whom he spent several years in Samarcand ; Musa and Abdulla—all in Lalpura.

To resume with Zain Khan : he attached himself to Ahmed Shah Abdali, and joined him in his expeditions. Holding the gate to India, the Morcha Khel appear indeed never to have lost an opportunity of descending on the plains of Hindustan in the track of the invader. Zain Khan was appointed Governor of part of Sirhind While thus absent, the Khan of Nawagai ravaged Kamali, which was then held by the Tarakzai ; and, unable to withstand the Bajouri horse, they resolved to apply to Zain Khan for assistance. The story relates that the Tarakzai messenger appeared, mean-looking, travelworn, clad in a coarse blanket, and, leaving a pair of old grass sandals at the door, stalked gravely up the

Darbar hall and sat down at the side of Zain Khan, to the astonishment of all beholders. Zain Khan, recognising the tribal dress, asked him what he thought of some dancing girls who happened to be singing in a corner of the room. The Tarakzai curtly replied they did not sing so loudly as the Mohmand women carried off to Bajour. Explanations followed, and Zain Khan, taking some Afghan troops with him, set off immediately for Peshawar. Raising the Mohmands, he beseiged and took Nawagai, capturing Sardar Khan, the local Chief. Kamali was settled with detachments of the Halimzai, and Sardar Khan was executed by the Governor of Cabul. (Nawagai was subsequently returned by Arsala Khan of Lalpura to Bajour as dower of his sister, who married an ancestor of the present Khans of Nawagai. From its exposed position the Mohmands probably found it difficult to hold the place and gave it up with a good grace before it was taken from them). Zain Khan then returned to India, and was killed at the battle of Panipat.

He was succeeded by his son Balots Khan, who led a tranquil existence at Lalpura. He is believed to have struck water out of a rock with his staff, on the hill near Tora Tigga, where an old well (Buddhist most likely) is known as Balots Khan's Kuhai. He had three sons, Arsala, Mazulla and Sadulla, each of whom in turn held the Khanship and came to a violent end.

Arsala Khan.

The eldest, Arsala Khan, succeeded his father about 1782, and, being of a passionate and turbulent disposition, soon embroiled himself with the King, Taimur Shah, son of Ahmed Shah. He was several times forgiven, but eventually came to ruin in the following manner. To quote the old Mohmand, who gave me his history:—"About this time, one Ranjitai, a 'darwai' or accountant of the "King at Lahore, was directed to extricate the guns of Taimur Shah from the sands of the "Jhelum river and bring them to Peshawar. Ranjitai came without them and fled on being re- "proved for his neglect of orders. Thereupon the King sent his Mir Shikar as a jirga to Lahore, "but Ranjitai refused to return and rebelled. The Mir Shikar then collected the revenues of "Cashmere and the Punjab and was taking them over to Cabul; on the way he accepted an "invitation from Arsala Khan to spend a few days at Lalpura. He crossed the river and was, "seized and forced to surrender 7 lakhs of treasure." The enraged King of course attacked Lalpura, and Arsala Khan fled to the hills in 1789; Langar Khan, a descendant of Hakim, son of Muqarrab Khan, being appointed nominally Khan for 2 years. At the end of that period, Arsala Khan in despair gave himself up to the Governor of Peshawar and was executed. About the same time Langar Khan found reason to fly to the Afridis; and Sarfaraz Khan, son of Arsala Khan became Khan. After eight months he was murdered by Maazulla Khan, who, with the interest of the Barakzai family, was appointed his successor. Arsala Khan left another son, Mir Afzal, who (as will be narrated below) killed Sadulla Khan, and in turn was killed by Saadat Khan. His son, Mohsin Khan, a venerable old man, is still alive, in reduced circumstances, at Hazarnao.

Maazulla Khan.

Maazulla Khan accompanied Wazir Fatteh Khan to Cashmere, and shortly after his return was killed with his son by his own brother Sadulla Khan. Of the sons of Maazulla Khan, the principal was Torabaz Khan, who supplanted Saadat Khan during the first Afghan war. At its conclusion Torabaz Khan received a jagir of Rs. 6,000 per annum in Kama from Amir Dost Muhammad Khan. His son, Riza Khan, held the Khanship (*vide* below) for 2 years, and was then superseded. His son Malang, again, shot Sultan Muhammad Khan and was killed on the spot (*vide* below) by the Khan's retainers. Another son of Torabaz Khan, Fazl Jan, then succeeded to the family jagir of Mastali in Kama. He was a pleasant, intelligent man, and friendly to us; he died last year, and the jagir has devolved on his young son Zakaria Khan. A brother, Ahmad Jan, is also alive in Kama. The present value of the jagir is Rs. 3,200.

The other descendants of Maazulla Khan, represented by Jabbar and Khowas, are living in poor circumstances at Hazarnao. Jabbar was a contractor of mail horses during the recent war.

Saadat Khan.

Sadulla Khan enjoyed his ill-earned Khanship only for ten months. While in Gandao he was shot by Mir Afzal Khan, son of Arsala Khan. The murderer fled to the Khans of Chardeh, but Futtehulla, grandfather of Azim Khan of Chardeh, delivered him alive to Saadat Khan, the son of the murdered man, by whom he was executed. These events took place shortly after the Saddozai princes murdered Wazir Fatteh Khan. Saadat Khan then assumed power at Lalpura and must have held the Khanship for over forty years, siding throughout with the Barakzai dynasty and the Amir Dost Muhammad Khan. Burnes met him at Dakka in 1831, and describes him as "a handsome man about 30", "with a good-humoured countenance." Faithful to the Barakzais, he fled in 1838, and Torabaz Khan, joining the Saddozai party, was appointed Khan of Lalpura. The return of the Amir, Dost Muhammad Khan, brought Saadat Khan back to power, and in particular he enjoyed the favor of the eldest son of the Amir, Akbar Khan. His influence was further increased by the marriage of his daughter to Sher Ali Khan, and from 1841 to 1861 he was in the height of his prosperity. In 1864, the Amir, his son-in-law, arrested him and his son Nauroz, and took them to Cabul in consequence of his determined opposition to the English, and the attacks he constantly organ-

ised or instigated on the Peshawar border. He died a few months afterwards in captivity, from the effects of the inclement winter climate of Cabul. Of all the Khans, Saadat Khan appears to have made the deepest impression on the Mohmands; simple in his habits, generous and accessible to the people, sagacious in council, and the champion of the national cause, he is held up as the model of what a Khan should be. He left a numerous family whose fortunes will be discussed below. Of the other sons of Sadulla Khan, the descendants live in obscurity at Chaknewar and Lalpura (*vide* appendix F.); worth notice among them are Nausher and Zerdad, who for a short period were set up as nominal Khans by the Amir; and Mihrab, an intelligent old man, who has travelled to Egypt, Constantinople and Persia. His father Nawab was killed by Torabaz Khan in a private quarrel.

Before entering on a description of the descendants of Saadat Khan, I will give a brief summary of the events connected with the Khanship since 1864.—When Saadat Khan was deposed, the Amir appointed Riza Khan, son of Torabaz Khan, his old enemy,

Riza Khan.

to the Khanship, which he held for one and a half years. He was never able to make much way against Saadat's sons in the hills, although he beat off a resolute attack on Lalpura by Sultan Muhammad Khan, eldest surviving son of Saadat Khan, and his party; finding Riza Khan useless, the Amir removed him and placed Sultan Muhammad Khan in the office of his father; releasing Nauroz Khan, who with his son Sadiq Khan went off to Herat to Sardar Yakub Khan, his nephew.

Sultan Muhammad Khan was shot dead in 1870, at the goldsmith's shop in the Lalpura

Sultan Muhammad Khan.

bazar by Malang, son of the Riza Khan, whom he had ousted from the Khanship. Malang is said to have been intoxicated with *charras* at the time. The Khan's retainers, led by Zerdad Khan then in the Khan's service, immediately killed him. Sultan Muhammad's infant son, Muhammad Shah, acted

Nauroz Khan.

as Khan till the arrival of Nauroz Khan from Herat. The latter then assumed the Khanship and marked his tenure of the office by great vigour and energy, raiding Bajour on one side and the Shinwaris on the other; and endearing himself to the tribe by a generous hospitality. The arrest of Yakub Khan in 1874 was the signal for rebellion, and Nauroz Khan disobeyed the Amir's summons to Cabul, and retired to Gandao. For some months there was no Khan in Lalpura, which was held by the Amir's troops under Wazir Arsala Khan; then Nausher Khan and his brother paid the Amir Rs. 8,000 and were appointed Khans. Nauroz Khan meanwhile was plundering caravans on the Abkhana and Shanilo routes, and Zerdad Khan went out to meet him; he was surrounded at Paikhan above Michni, and capitulated. He and his brother were then deposed by the Amir, and Muhammad Shah Khan became Khan in 1875, but with crippled resources. The Amir

Muhammad Shah Khan

had confiscated the extensive Lalpura jagirs at Nauroz Khan's rebellion and kept them in his hands together with greater part of the proceeds of the tolls on the road. Propped up by the garrison of Fort Dakka, Muhammad Shah Khan reaped a limited income from the transit dues on the river and a share of the road tolls, and slowly endeavoured to make a party for himself in the tribe; but the influence of Nauroz Khan remained unshaken in Gandao and with the Tarakzai, and practically the authority of Muhammad Shah Khan did not extend much beyond the river villages and the Shilman valleys. In 1877 Nauroz Khan died in Gandao, and his sons shortly after came to Peshawar. Muhammad Shah Khan remained at Lalpura upon the advance of our forces in November 1878, but in July 1879 he was deposed by the Amir, Yakub Khan, in favor of Sadik Khan, eldest son of Nauroz Khan. In January 1880 Sadik Khan rebelled, and the British Government appointed his half brother Akbar Khan, in his place, Khan of Lalpura, a position which he continues to hold.

To return to the descendants of Saadat Khan, his first wife was a sister of the Khan of Nawagai, and of course of good birth; the second was a Dehgan by tribe, a sister of Ali Khan of Pesh Bolak, and of inferior rank; and the third wife was a relative of the Badshah of Kunar, by family a Syad. He had also sons by a slave girl (*vide* Appendix G). The sons of the second wife live quietly on land purchased for them by their father, at Pesh Bolak, and are of no importance. Sher Muhammad Khan is a notorious smoker of *charras* and little better than a madman; he is married to a daughter of Aghajan, an influential Malik of the Sangu Khel. Muhabbat Khan is a Mullah and spends his days in a mosque. Of the sons by the third wife, Dad Muhammad and Ata Muhammad were granted part of their father's patrimony at Chinarai, a Safi village between Mitai and Nawagai, where they lead a life of humble retirement, content to cultivate their fields. The third brother, Yar Muhammad Khan, is of a restless disposition. He also was with Yakub Khan in Herat, fled with Ayub Khan to Mashad, and returned to Cabul on the death of Sher Ali Khan. After the deposition of Yakub Khan, he came to Gandao and took an active part in the rising of January 1880; during the summer of that year he found his way to Cabul and then joined Ayub Khan at Kandahar. He has followed him to Persia, and according to latest accounts is in Mashad. The sons of the slave are Inayat-ulla Khan and Bahram Khan, who murdered Major Macdonald in 1873. Their father gave them some lands at Siah Choh, near Chihalgazi, where each possesses a fort. Bahram Khan fled before our troops to the Mahmand valley in the Sufed Koh, but Inayat-ulla Khan never gave trouble. He is on bad terms with his brother. They hold a low position in the famil of

the Khans, and it was when he was sent as a kind of superior retainer to Michni to arrange for the safety of the Michni road, that Bahram Khan planned that murder.

Sons of Sultan Muhammad Khan.

There remain the children by the first wife. The eldest son Fatteh Muhammad Khan, was killed about 1850 by his brother, Sultan Muhammad, in a trivial altercation, just outside the village of Lalpura. He left no children. The second son, Sultan Muhammad, succeeded to the Khanship, and was himself killed by Malang (*vide* above). By his first wife, a Morcha Khel, he had two sons, Mir Ahmed and Arsala. The career of Mir Ahmed affords an instructive glimpse of the inner life of higher society in independent territory. A *charras*-smoker from his youth, he wandered to Herat and accompanied Ayub Khan to Mashad. There he wantonly killed an unoffending shopkeeper, and was expelled from the city, his life being spared by the Persian Governor as he was believed to be mad. On his return to Lalpura he shot his wife, apparently out of sheer thirst for blood; for all, even his own brothers, agree in saying that she had given him no cause for such offence as by Pathan custom would have justified her being killed. She was a sister of one of the wives of Syad Amir Badshah, of Chardeh; and his relatives warned Mir Ahmed from visiting Chardeh. For three years the Chardeh people gave no sign of resentment, and, thrown off his guard, Mir Ahmed, in August 1880, went to see his sister-in-law by invitation. After supper he was seized, strangled, and his body thrown into the Cabul river. It floated down to Sadda, near Lalpura, and by a strange fate was stranded almost on the exact spot where he had shot his wife. He has left no children. His brother Arsala lives in obscurity at Masinghi.

Muhammad Shah Khan.

The children born to Sultan Muhammad by his second wife are Muhammad Shah Khan, about 25 years old, and Akram, a minor. Muhammad Shah Khan has been, in his turn, Khan of Lalpura. He is a man who shines more in the council chamber than on horseback, has pleasant manners, and is sensible and rational in speech and action. He is not a dangerous man, nor is he noted as an intriguer, and contrives to stand well with every party; his phlegmatic temperament inclines him much to repose, and he is not likely to put himself at the head of any popular movement. He had a difficult part to play as Khan of Lalpura, and if he did not always acquit himself successfully it was not for want of good faith, but rather owing to the force of circumstances and perhaps his own inertia. He can give good advice and information, and it is to be remembered to his credit that when Sadik Khan rose in January 1880, he promptly offered his assistance to Akbar Khan and remained at his side, though there was no reason (he not having himself obtained the Khanship) why he should not have joined Sadik Khan. He has no pronounced party in the tribe. To descend to minor details: he is very fond of good living and dress. A jagir of Rs. 6,000 has been conferred upon him by the Amir, and is charged on the revenue of the Lalpura jagir village of Baru, where he now resides. His half sister was betrothed to the present Amir, but died in infancy.

The third wife of Sultan Muhammad was the sister of Malik Khowas, Zakha Khel. Her sons have, with the gaunt and bony frame of the Afridi, inherited the turbulent character of her tribe; and Abdul Aziz Khan, the stormy petrel of Mohmand politics, has joined in every rising and raid since the Mhairwarras were surrounded at Kam Dakka in March 1879. Nothing could keep him quiet, and often as he sent messages of repentance, he was off again to the hills on the first sign of trouble. He has no influence with the tribesmen, and his actions could be viewed with indifference by our officers. He and his minor brother, Hassan, live now at Chihalgazi, where Abdul Aziz has married a relative of Umra Khan, Sepah Shinwari.

The full sister of Sultan Muhammad and Nauroz was married to Amir Sher Ali Khan. Her sons are Sirdars Yakub Khan and Ayub Khan.

The third son of Saadat Khan's first wife was Nauroz Khan, who also held the Khanship. His sons are: by a sister of Azim Khan of Chardeh, Sadik Khan and Muhammad Ali Khan; by a Morcha Khel, Akbar Khan and Hassan Jan.

The sons of Nauroz Khan.
Sadik Khan.

Sadik Khan was for some time at the Court of Yakub Khan in Herat; but returned with his father to Lalpura on the death of Sultan Muhammad. He went into exile with Nauroz Khan, and after his death came to Peshawar. In March 1879 he made a successful bid for Lalpura by running away to Yakub Khan from the British camp, and became Khan in July 1879 and went into opposition in January 1880, and after his defeat at Dakka retired to Spinki Tangi. On the accession of the Amir he submitted at Cabul and received a jagir of Rs. 9,000 in the village of Baru, where he is now living. He is married to a Khwaezai woman and to the daughter of Mir Afzal Khan, a Loargai Shinwari, who has great influence over him. In appearance he is rather a miserable looking little man, weak on his legs; about 28 years old; his manner is courtly and insinuating. He had a considerable hereditary party in the tribe, which was much enhanced by his going over to the Mullahs, who were antagonistic to us and of course sung Sadik Khan's praises in the hills. He is very tenacious in the acquisition and retention of money; his travels to Herat and Cabul have somewhat opened his mind; but he does not appear to be a man of great sagacity or commanding energy of character, and is said to be under the influence of his wives and dependents and to be timid and wanting in courage. His brother Mahomad Ali is still a youth of undeveloped character. The chief characteristic of the two brothers is their steady devotion to Yakub Khan the ex-Amir.

Akbar Khan, Khan of Lalpura.

Akbar Khan did not go to Herat: his half brother Sadik Khan being the favorite of Nauroz Khan, he remained at home. He also fled with his father to Gandao, sending his mother and wives to Bedmani, near Mitai. He went to Yakub Khan in May 1879 with the permission of Sir L. Cavagnari, and was assigned Girdi Kas, one of the Lalpura jagir villages, for his support. At the time of the Cabul massacre and the battle of Charasia he was in Cabul, but returned in November 1879 and in January 1880 took Sadik Khan's place at Lalpura. He is the manliest of the sons of Nauroz Khan, and though he has a slightly heavy look and manner, is physically sturdy and of good proportions. He is fairly plucky and ready to do hard work, if required. In character he is straight, and for an Afghan markedly single-minded and loyal and free from intrigue; perhaps he cannot be called clever, nor can he have much experience as yet, but he means well. His faults are a tendency to waste time and money on music and the local ballet, and a bovine way of doing business; but that will all wear off in time. Among the Mohmands he has a powerful party with the Tarakzai and in Gandao; and among the Baezai, the Miro Khel and Bara Khel bear a strong affection for him; and the Haji of Bedmani is his firm friend, as Mullah Khalil is of Sadik Khan. The majority of the Morcha Khel take his side, and Zardad Khan and Nausher Khan have taken service with him. Altogether he is perhaps the most favorable representative of the grandsons of Saadat Khan. He is betrothed to a daughter of the Badshah of Kunar and is married to a daughter of Yar Muhammad Khan, Mandozai Shinwari of Marez. His young brother Hassan Jan is betrothed or married to a niece of Malik Wali Muhammad, Zakha Khel; Akbar Khan has given him the jagir villages of Girdi Kas and Kahn, as maintenance.

Revenues and political position of the Lalpura Khans.

This may be an appropriate place to enumerate the different sources of income of the Lalpura Khans; they are of two kinds :—

(1) from jagirs,
(2) from transit dues.

The revenues in full of the following villages in Ningrahar are enjoyed by the Khan for the time being: Hisarshahi, Kahn, Baru, Jaba, Girdi, Girdi Kas, Hisarak, Lalpura and Sadda. They are paid chiefly in kind, partly in cash, and are collected by the Khan's agents, entitled "*faujdars*," who store the grain in granaries on the spot. The Khan pays his retainers and expenses by cheques on the *faujdars*, who honor them in cash or in kind as directed, and account for the balance annually to the head accountant at Lalpura. In addition the *faujdars* levy fines (which are credited to the Khan), in the jagir villages, for grave offences committed by any of the inhabitants, *e. g.*, Rs. 400 for murder, Rs. 50 for a broken arm or foot, varying sums for theft, &c.; and collect the market dues "*tarazudari*," and the marriage and burial fees from the Hindu residents. In large villages like Hisarshahi, Lalpura or Baru, the fines and fees amount to considerable sums, and are farmed out to contractors.

The total revenue accruing to the Khan from his jagirs amounts in cash to about Rs. 15,500 Cabuli; in kind to, roughly speaking, Rs. 35,000 worth,—total about Rs. 55,000, assuming that the price of grain is the same as it was before the war.

The second source of income is from the tolls—

(*a.*) On the river, producing about Rs. 7,000 or Rs. 8,000 per annum.

(*b.*) On the Khyber road, at present not much less than Rs. 50,000 a year.

The gross annual income of the Khan may be estimated at present at about Rs. 1,00,000 or Rs. 1,20,000 per annum. Out of this he pays the Halimzai Rs. 9,000 annual cash allowance, fixed by the Cabul Government long ago. The remainder is at his absolute disposal; much is expended in presents to tribal headmen and in hospitality to the clansmen who visit Lalpura; the villages of Kahn and Girdi Kas are assigned to Hassan Jan; and Baru to Sadik Khan and Muhammad Shah Khan as stated above; the retainers and levies, horse and foot, cost money (the present Khan keeps up 140 horses for escort duties in the Khyber from Dakka to Lundi Khana), and the rest of his income is spent by the Khan on his household or as fancy may dictate, and part is doubtless saved for the possible day of exile, which every prudent Khan allows for.

The influence of the Khans varies much with their personal character and the pecuniary means at their command; a powerful Khan can be despotic towards an individual clansman, but not even the strongest dare contravene what is general Afghan custom or the pronounced will of an united clan. But a skilful manipulator of intertribal jealousies, a generous and vigorous Chief of proved sagacity, can acquire great ascendancy over and confidence among the clans.

The Tarakzai, Halimzai, Dawezai and Utmanzai consider themselves especially in charge of the Lalpura Khan; the Baezai and Khwaezai admit Lalpura influence, not as of right, but as a favor. Theoretically his claim to repress disturbances and punish crime in the four clans is admitted, but practically only a strong Khan would attempt to do so, and then not without the secret co-operation of the clan-elders, who would privately receive part of the fines imposed by the Khan. In questions of general tribal interest or at moments of universal popular excitement, the Mohmands expect the Khan to take the initiative as a matter of course and willingly follow his control. The attachment of the tribe to the Morcha Khel is universal, and even

Sher Ali Khan, the strongest Amir that Afghanistan has seen, found it impossible to dispense with a Khan at Lalpura, or to place some other family in the stead of the Morcha Khel. The house of Malik Morcha, by long association, the ties of blood and by popular esteem, is looked upon as the leading family of the four clans I have mentioned. But the election of a Khan out of this family is the prerogative of the Government for the time being of Afghanistan; the only stipulation is, that the Khan shall be a Morcha Khel, and by prescriptive rule the choice is restricted to the descendants of Zain Khan Baba. That is all; the tribe has no further voice in the matter, and the Government can appoint any member of the family it chooses, subject of course to the admittedly illegal opposition of malcontents. To sum up the position of the Khan of Lalpura towards his tribe: he is a patriarchal Chief picked by Government out of the members of one particular family, to assume the leadership of clans independent of its authority, over whom he exercises the power, not of a military commander, but resembling rather the influence exerted by the head of a political party in modern England.

The power of the Lalpura Khans, as I have said, is primarily confined to four clans, but the eastern Baezai and in particular the Miro Khel, Bara Khel and Koda Khel and part of the Musa Khel sections entertain friendly relations with Lalpura. These are viewed with jealousy and dislike by the proper Khans of the Baezai, the Khans of Goshta.

The Khans of Goshta.

Khadi Khan is the ancestor of this house; its minor branches have been portioned off in Kama and at Girdao (*vide* appendix H), and enjoy the villages of Mayar, Gahik, Mama Khel, Safedbini, Girdao, Kilai Yamin Khan and Bazid Khel as jagir.

The principal line is now represented by the Khans of Goshta and of Chardeh. Khalid Khan, fifth in descent from Khadi Khan, was the last to hold the whole estates of the Khans in his hands. He lived during the first Afghan war and was able to do service to Sir R. Sale at Jellalabad. At his death his possessions were divided; Syad Amir, Azim Khan and Bahram, his sons by his first wife, taking the villages on the right bank of the river, and Taj Muhammad Khan, with his brothers, the sons of the second wife, settling at Goshta on the left bank. The sons by the third wife are of no account.

Moghal Khan.

Taj Muhammad Khan died 5 years ago and has been succeeded by his son, Moghal Khan, a youth of some energy and force of will. He was steadily hostile to the British in the war, and is popular with his tribe. He holds Goshta, Girdao and Deh Tahir in jagir, receiving in cash Rs. 1,900, and in kind about Rs. 18,000 worth of produce—total Rs. 20,000. He has also lately arranged for the transit of Mohmand Kuchi caravans from Goshta *viâ* Bohai and Gandao to Peshawar, levying tolls at the ferry near Goshta. The transit dues on this route are reported to be Rs. 3 per camel, divided equally among Baezai, Khwaezai and Halimzai. One-half of the Baezai share is taken by Moghal Khan.

Azim Khan and Syad Amir.

The Khans of Chardeh are Syad Amir Badshah and Azim Khan. Friendly to the Britishe, they are bitter enemies of each other and of Moghal Khan. Of a violent quarrelsome disposition, they are ever oppressing the people or at dispute among themselves, and though both in succession held the Governorship of Kama during our temporary occupation of Jellalabad, their wrangling intrigues compelled their speedy removal from the post. Last year the brothers lay in prison at Jellalabad, for alleged extortions and other malpractices.

Azim Khan has been since released and taken to favor, and has gone to Kandahar with Rasul Khan; but Syad Amir remains in durance. Their joint jagir is the village of Chardeh; the grant amounts to Rs. 3,200 in cash, and about Rs. 5,000 worth of produce—total about Rs. 8,200 per annum. In addition Syad Amir has the revenue of the village of Lachapur, worth about Rs. 1,000 or Rs. 1,300 a year. From 1874 to 1878, or the period of Nauroz Khan's rebellion, the Baezai and their Khans were used as a counterpoise to Lalpura, and, as already stated, an annual cash allowance of Rs. 12,000 was paid to them for four years from Cabul. It is now discontinued. This closes the account of the Khans of the Mohmands, for the Chiefs of Lalpura and Goshta are the only Khans worthy of the name.

The Pindiali Khans.

But a family in the Isa Khel, resident at Pindiali, claims the title, less on the score of power and wealth, than because it is the "*serishtawal*" of the Tarakzai, the hereditary holder of the "*serishta*" or repository and exponent of Afghan law and custom. Its present representative is Pirdost Khan, son of Nawab. The revenue of the village of Sadrgarhi, near Abazai in the Peshawar District, Rs. 800 a year, is assigned to him. His father was troublesome on the border, but Pirdost Khan generally behaves well. He has not much influence and is a miser.

## V.—TRIBAL DIVISIONS.

There follows here an account of the tribal sub-divisions, their villages and headmen, and a short detail of the affiliated and vassal clans. Tables showing the relations *inter se* of the different sections of each clan will be found in appendixes A to E, in which I have omitted the more minute sub-sections, as they are impossible to remember, and practical work is confined as a rule to dealings with the larger divisions given in the tables.

The fighting strength of the Mohmands has been variously stated; probably from 16,000 to 18,000 men would be an approximately correct estimate, but the whole male population capable of bearing arms would never be collected at one spot.

In the lists below it must be remembered that the number of fighting men, the "*mlatar*," does not include the artisan and labouring population, which is often considerable, but means simply the able-bodied Mohmands of that particular section. In case of an expedition or of fighting, the non-Afghans would, many of them, join their Mohmand masters. The lists of headmen are constantly changing, as death or exile effect mutations in the names.

The Mohmands proper are composed of the—

*A.*—Tarakzai { incldues Isa Khel. Burhan Khel.

*B.*—Halimzai.

*C.*—Baezai.

*D.*—Khwaezai.

Each tribe is dealt with in succession.

*A.*—THE TARAKZAI are sub-divided into :—

(1.) Dadu Kheyl.

(2.) Kasim Kheyl.

1.—THE DADU KHEL consist of :—

(*a.*) The Dalkha Kor.

(*b.*) The Shah Mansur Khel.

a.—The *Dalkha Kor* is comprised by :—

(1.) The Muradi Kor.

(2.) The Asaf Kor.

(1.)—The Muradi Kor sub-divisions :—

(*a.*) Angur Kor, 100 fighting men, village Angur Killi, B. T.

(*b.*) Takhai Kor, 90 men, vill. Tangi, Khwar Killi, Burj Killi in Alki Gandao, independent territory.

(*c.*) Nazar Kor, 200 men, vill. Gurgurrai, Shanilo, in independent territory.

(*d.*) Shahi Kor, 110 men, vill. Tangi in Alki Gandao.

(*e.*) Sarbadal Kor, 80 men, vill. Chargulai, B. T.

The headmen of the Muradi Kor are Ghazan, Shergul, Najai, Satt, Umr. It lives north and west of Michni.

(2.) The Asaf Kor numbers about 300 fighting men; is sub-divided into :—

(*a.*) Rawal Kor, vill. Tora Miana, in i. t.

(*b.*) Rahim Kor, vill. Sapri, Zankhai, Gidarnao, i. t.

(*c.*) Akal Kor, vill. ditto, ditto, Gandao, i. t.

(*d.*) Qambar Kor, vill. Zankhai, Gurgurra, Sapri, i. t.

The headmen are Lalo, Purdil, Yaro, Nawab, Shah Khan, Munir, Rajai, Yargul, Mian Gul, Lal Khan, Mulla, Fatteh, Niaz, Aslam. The Asaf Kor lives immediately north of Michni. But part of the fifth section lives in Kam Shilman.

(*e.*) Masaud Kor in Kam Shilman, vill. Jamal Killi, Kamran Killis Sumtse, Gulbaz Kor.

Headmen: Jamal, Kamran, Taimur, Sano, Gulbaz, Ajar-ud-din, Lalgul.

This section holds the whole of the Kam Shilman valley.

b. The *Shah Mansur Khel* consists of—

(1.) The Hyatai Kor.

(2.) The Loe Shilman sections :

(3.) The Durma Kor.

(1.)—The Hyatai Kor is sub-divided into the following sections, who live indiscriminately in the villages of Pakhan, Hyder Khan, Ursak, Sadin and Kararai, about 400 fighting men :—

(*a.*) Shinsarai Kor.

(*b.*) Umr Kor.

(*c.*) Aymena Kor.

(*d.*) Bakhtawara Kor.

(*e.*) Zafirana Kor.

(*f.*) Shadak Kor.

The residence of the Hyatai Kor is in the villages along the Cabul river, west of Michni on either bank.

The headmen are: Naim, Gujar, Jang, Yaqubai, Aghzamai, Torai, Barakzai, Babujan, Shero, Darwezai, Khowas, Maruf, Sherdil Sultan, Zainai, Tor, Afzal, Nawab, Muhammad Sher, Muhammad Beg, Muhammad Amir.

(2.)—The Loe Shilman sections :—

(*a.*) Wali Muhammad Kor, villages Umrdin Killi, Shahdad Killis Daim Killi.

(*b.*) Hassan Kor, vill. Topai, Bare.

(*c.*) Wazir Kor, vill. Khanakai, Prang-darra, Sarobai.

The headmen are: Umrdin, Ghafur, Khaista Khan, Jalal, Nasro, Gulistan, Adam Ianbaz, Murad, Orbal, Post Khan, Raz Gul, Fatteh, Raza Shah Nawaz, Yusuf.

They held greater part of Loe Shilman, and muster about 400 men.

(3.)—Durma Kor, about 500 men. Sections :—

(*a.*) Morcha Khel (Khan Khel), at Lalpura, Sadda, Masingi, Chaknewar, Baru, &c.

(*b.*) Sahab Kor,<br>
(*c.*) Ikhtiyar Kor, } In Loe Shilman, live with Hassan Kor.<br>
(*d.*) Ibrahim Kor,

2. The Kasim Khel are comprised in the

(*a.*) Kani Khel.

(*b.*) Khalil Kor.

*a.* The *Kani Khel* sub-sections are as follows :—

(1.)—Zarif Kor, villages Landai Tangai, Dakka.

(2.)—Harif Kor, vill. Darwargai, Sarkhani.

(3.)—Janbeg Kor, vill. Regmiana, in i. t.; Nilabai, B. T.

(4.)—Salih Kor, vill. Skhadand, i. t.; Zormandi, B. T.

(5.)—Hafiz Kor, vill. Regmiana.

The headmen are: Halim-ulla, Umr Ali (of Dakka), Makhetai, Khadigul, Dalal Kadir, Syad Gul, Sheraz, Gulai, Narai, Hidayat, Abdul Wahab, Gulsher, Mohi-ud-din.

The Kani Khel live on the border, west of Shabkadar; they number about 600 fighting men.

*b*. The *Khalil Kor* are sub-divided into :—

(1.) Gul Ahmed Kor, vill. Srat, Sarkai, Sagri, Zieraghara.

(2.) Kado Kor, vill. Sahib China, Kuhai Killi, in i. t. ; also Srabela, in B.T.

(3.) Saba Kor,
(4.) Aka Kor, } insignificant ; live with other sections.
(5.) Do Khel,

Headmen are : Muqarrab, Mirak, Ghulam, Mushki, Syad Jan, Mamu Khan, Choarai, Shah Munir, Abbas. 200 fighting men.

This concludes the clan usually meant by Tarakzai; but as the Isa Khel and Burhan Khel sections belong to it in a wider sense (practically they are detached from the Tarakzai), they are given here—

1.—THE BURHAN KHEL, 450 men, sub-divided into :—

Known as Krapawal. { (1.) Salim Khan Kor, located in the Lagham valley, villages Salego, Pishoghar, Ghundai Killi, Lakhtainao.

Headmen : Dostai, Zwairai, Salo, Ghafur, Mushki, Bahu Khan, Ghulam Shah, Khatai.

Darawal. { (2.) Muhammad Khan Kor in the Pindiali valley, villages Kuhai, Baro Killi, China, Hissar Tangi.

Headmen : Firoz, Zarif, Mirdin, Mar-ud-dín, Sikandar, Dadu, Abbas, Nasir.

*Note.*— An outpost of the Burhan Khel is settled at Shinpokh, on the right bank of the Cabul river, below Kam Dakka. The headmen are : Dadgul, Ata Muhammad, Sherdil. There are a few Burhan Khel families in Dakka ; headman : Mansur. A vassal clan known as Salgarai, of unknown origin, has attached itself to the Burhan Khel and lives at Chingai, west of Matta in B. T., 60 families strong.

2. THE ISA KHEYL ; 550 men ; sub-divided into :—

(1.) Kesama Kor, vill. Dag.

(2.) Langar Kor, village Langar Killi, Sabaí.

(3.) Rajai Kor in Danish Kul, villages Kilosha, Dagai, Ziarat Killi, Garang.

Headmen are : Pir Dost Khan, Paya-ud-din, Gul Muhammad, Sher, Gul Hassan, Alamo, Pastu, Faiz-ul-la, Fattai, Redi Gul, Azim, Faqir, Mahsim, Zaman.

*Note.*—Attached to the Isa Khel are the Mandai Khel, 120 families, said by some to be Tarakzai ; by others to be of Hindkai origin ; they live at Tora Garhai in Danish Kul and in Mandi Tangai in Kamali ; headmen : Mir Alam, Nasr-ulla.

*B.*—THE HALIMZAI.

They are, properly speaking, a branch of the Tarakzai, but have so grown in numbers as to be considered in every way a separate clan.

The principal sections of the Halimzai are—

(1.) Sepah in Kamali.

(2.) Bul Khel in Gandao.

(3.) Tealor Plara, { ¼ in Gandao. ¾ in Kamali.

1. THE SEPAH are divided into :—

a. *Shah Beg Kor*, 300 men, village Lakkai, Khwaja Kuhai.

Sub-sections :

(1.) Yasin Kor.

(2.) Daim „

(3.) Sado „

Headmen : Arsala, Zaman, Allahdin, Jalal, Khanai, Alam, Safai, Dadmir, Rabaz, Dad Shah, Atar, Umra, Jan Mir.

b. *Nazar Beg Kor*, 180 men.

*Sub-divisions :*

(1.) Ghazi Beg Kor in Kamali, village Darwazgai, Tangai, Katsai.

Headmen : Muhammad, Mudasir, Alam Khan, Majid, Janai, Hyder, Ghulam Syad.

(2.) Rami Khel in Gandao, village Ghundai, Rami Kor.

Headmen : Shahzada, Amir, Takhai.

They number 80 men.

(c.) *Yusaf Khel*, 400 men.

*Sub-divisions :*

(1.) Borai Kor, { ½ in Kamali, ½ in Gandao, } villages Kila, Ghundai, Tor Kubai, Malik Tangi.

Headmen : Kharot, Samand, Abdul Muhammad, Hassan, Shah Zaman, Muhammad Baz. 100 men.

(2.) Pir Walai Kor in Gandao, village Malik Tangi. 20 men.

(3.) Saqai Kor in Kamali, village Nahaqqi.

Headmen : Sadulla, Torsum, Kuchai. 40 fighting men.

(4.) Kasim Kor on Cabul river, village Srat Tigga, on river.

Headman : Post Khan. 30 fighting men.

(5.) Badin Kor in Kamali, vill. Nahaqqi-darra.

Headmen : Yarai, Assat, Ghafur, Gul Muhammad, Aman, Mubarak Shah, Dara Khan.

They are 200 fighting men strong.

*Note.*—Vassals of the Kamali men is the small clan called Sröh, living at Ambar Tangai, Miana and Gumbatai in Kamali. Probably they are converted Kafirs ; their own version is that they are exiles from Kohistan near Cabul.

Headmen : Ashraf, Muhammad, Jamal, Ghatai.

Some Yusaf Khel also live in Loe Shilman, in Khwar Killi and Multan Koruna.

Headmen : Multan, Sheraz.

Loe Shilman is also inhabited by the following Halimzai :—

(1.) The Ghunda Khel section of the Tealor Plara, village Ugda Narai, Isagai.

Headmen : Gulnam, Pir Dost.

(2.) Taru Khel section of the Durba Kheyl, village Dakka.

Headman : Ahmed Nur, Lahore.

(3.) Daud Kor, village Katskai.

Headman : Gul Baz.

2. The Bul Khel, sections :

a. Hamza Khel.

b. Busha ,,

a. The *Hamza Khel* are comprised in—

(1.) Baru Khel, 200 men, villages Tora Tigga in Gandao, Beki Kor in Kamali.

Headmen Rahmdad, Alam, Naqshai, Nasro, Ghulam Ahmed, Abid.

(2.) Sultan Khel, 100 men, villages Natsapai, Gurgurrai, Pitao Killi. Khorang China in Gandao, Surtangi in Kamali.

Headmen: Sherbaz, Afzal, Ziamat, Lal Khan, Chiragh.

(3.) Durba Khel, 200 men, villages Mulla Anjum Killi, Bahai in Gandao, Surtangi in Kamali.

Headmen: Madali, Sher, Hamza Khan, Maqamdin, Nawab, Khadi, Bakir Shah, Nur-ud-din, Tazagul.

(4.) Babi Khel, 100 men, village Kar-darra in Gandao.

Headmen: Torai, Syad Muhammad, Shahbaz, Bohar, Moza.

(5.) Adin Kor, 20 men, village Spinkai.

Headmen: Abdur Rahman, Rashid.

b. The *Busha Khel.*

Sub-sections:

(1.) Kadai Kor, 160 men.

Sub-divisions:

(a.) Yardil Kor.

(b.) Rahmatal " vill. Badisia, Wacha Jowar, Katsai.

Headmen: Hamid-ulla, Shahjan, Khandad, Nabai, Mir Hyder, Habib, Naushe, Syad Ghulam, Janai, Mamu, Ghulam Jan, Ghulam Sher, Muhammad Dad.

(2.) Pagal Kor, about 20 men, vill. Pagal Killi.

Headmen: Fazl Ahmed, Azim.

(3.) Wali Beg Kor, 200 men.

*Sub-divisions:*

(a.) Rasul Kor.<br>
(b.) Shatai "<br>
(c.) Wahab " } Villages Sangar, China, Katar.

Headmen: Muhammad Didar, Khalid, Bahram, Jalandar, Dherai, Syad Amir Mozalli, Gul, Rajai, Nasir, Sharáf, Dalo.

(4). Daud Kor, 100 men, vill. Baghri Kanrai.

Headmen: Mirak, Suleiman, Firaz.

All the Busha Khel live in Gandao.

3. The Tsalor Plara are divided into :—

(a.) Katasar, 100 men, village Katasar Killi in Gandao.

Headmen: Jamdad, Maruf, Syad Amir, Sherai.

(b.) Ghunda Khel, 40 men, vill. Torgat, (in Gandao, Dakka.)

Headmen: Paindai, Mir Zaman, Moghal (of Dakka).

(c.) Khojawas Kor, 80 men, villages Yari Killi, Chihalgazi in Gandao.

Headmen: Yarai, Ibrahim, Sadda, Paigham.

(d.) Ato Khel, 200 men, all in Kamali.

Sub-sections:

(1.) Kakhi Kor, vill. Wallai Tangi.

Headman: Syad Amir.

(2.) Zirka Kor, vill. Ghundai Killi.

Headmen: Tor, Sanda, Muhammad Jan.

(3.) Samat Kor, vill. Tarkhe Obo.

Headmen: Razi, Chiragh Shah.

The villages of these three sub-sections are collectively known as Ato Khel.

*Note.*—The Halimzai jagir of Panjpao in British territory, is held only by the Gandao Halimzai, principally by the Durba Kor, Wali Beg Kor, Kadi Kor sections. The chief man in Panjpao is Ghulam Sher of Mardana, son of Ahmed Sher (who died in Cabul after being treacherously seized by the Baezai), and nephew of Nausher of the Wali Beg Kor. He enjoys a personal allowance of Rs. 100 a year from Government.

*C.*—THE BAEZAI.

They consist of two sections :—

(1.) The Usman Khel.

(2.) The Sepah.

1. The Usman Khel are again divided into :—

(a.) The *Khuga Khel.*

Sub-sections:

(1.) Pitavi, living on the south or sunny side of the range flanking the left bank of the Kunar river.

Sub-divisions:

(*a.*) Bakir Kor.

(*b.*) Torai „

(*c.*) Allah Khel.

Villages Salala, Sarkai, Anargai, Gato Kila, Wachtal.

Headmen: Purdil, Sherdad, Mullah, Guldad, Azad, Sherzai, Adam, Sahib Gul, 600 men.

(2.) Suriwal, living on the north or shady side of the same range, villages Shalai, Kandaro Killi, Lutan.

Headmen: Dad Shah, Ghafar, Yakut, 450 men.

(3.) Mita Khel, on same range, villages Spintangi, Bela Anaro Killi.

Headmen: Didar, Bazid, Muhammad Sher, 250 men

(4.) Butu Khel, vill. Teaparai.

Headmen: Abdur Rahman, Mullah Gul, 150 men.

(5.) Mama Khel, vill. Murdadand, Mayar (in Kama).

Headmen: Jalal, Naib, Umr, Hassan, 300 men.

b. The *Isa Khel,* their sub-divisions are unimportant. Village Shnadara. Headmen: Tola, Hisam, Syad Khan; 200 men.

c. The *Atmar Khel,* sub-sections:

(1.) Bazid Khel, village Bazid Khel, in Kama.

Headmen: Gul, Wahab, Jangbaz; 150 men.

(2.) Khadi Khel or Khan Khel; villages Goshta, Girdao, Mayar, Chardeh, Gahik, Landabuch, Khanjar Killi, Zharobai.

Headmen: Moghal Khan, Syad Amir, Azim Khan, Akbar Khan, Azim of Mayar, Yamin Khan, Faiz Talab, Rahmat-ulla, Agha Jan, Pir Muhammad, Ghulam Jilani; 450 men.

(3.) Lakhkar Khel in the hills; villages Lakhkar Kala, Mazari China, Atmar Kala, Faqir Koruna.

Headmen: Zahir Din, Yakub, Firoz, Sahib Khan, Mullah Shams-ud-din, Jahan Khan, Gulamir, Jafat; 300 men.

d. The *Koda Khel,* village Koda Khel.

Headmen: Shahnam, Ali Nur, Miraj, Zamir, Ahmed Gul, Ghafar, Sadiq, Yusuf, Lala Gul; 550 men.

This concludes the Usman Khel.

2. THE SEPAH.

The sub-divisions are—

a.—The *Musa Khel*, villages along the Mitai glen ; *sub-sections* :—

(1.) Shabaz Kor
(2.) Kasim Kor
(3.) Jabbar Kor
(4.) Rahmat Kor } in Mitai

(5.) Haibat Kor in Gulma.

(6.) Malang Kor in Tora Khera.

(7.) Wilayat Kor in Spinki Tangi.

Headmen : Musa, Mudasar, Jumma, Muhabat, Saif-ud-din, Kasim, Badar, Khidrai, Gulnur, Chora ; 1,800 men.

b.—The *Bara Khel*, divided into :

(1.) Zain Khan Kor.

(2.) Balo Khan Kor, villages Bedmani, Landisha.

Headmen : Usman, Aziz, Imad, Khan Ali, Shams-ud-din, Samai, Hassans, Sherjang ; 650 men.

*Note.*—In the Bara Khel is the '*Serishta*' of the Baezai, representative of the '*Serishtawal*' family is Usman. His daughter is married to Azim Khan of Chardeh. At Bedmani lives the Haji Sahib.

c.—*The Miro Khel.* Its sections are :—

(1.) Boba Kor.

(2.) Beki Kor.

(3.) Ali Kor.
Villages : Shamsa-darra, Spinki Tangi :

Headmen : Mazim, Sultan, Kochai, Gul Alam, Saadat, Gul Hassan ; about 700 men.

*D.*—THE KHWAEZAI.

Consist of—
(1.) Maimand Khel
(2.) Doatta " } in the hills.

(3.) Khadi Khel, part in the hills and part in the plains, below Goshta, on the left bank of the Cabul river.

1. The *Maimand Khel* is divided into :—

(*a.*) Jalal Kor, 120 men, village Kung.

(*b.*) Zaman Kor, 160 men, village Gadai Tangai.

(*c.*) Muhammad Kor, 200 men, village Kutai.

(*d.*) Saddo Kor, 150 men, villages Zanawar China, Mazarina.

(*e.*) Musai Kor, 200 men, village Kung.

2. The *Doatta Khel* is comprised by—

(*a.*) Ahad Kor, 90 men, villages Kilagai, Ahad Kor.

(*b.*) Khan Beg Kor, 180 men, village Mulla Fahim Killi; here lives Mulla Khalil.

3. The *Khadi Khel*, 400 men, villages Samghakhai, Alkai Kuhai in the hills, and Khwaezai, in the plains near Goshta.

Headmen of the hill Khwaezai are Arab Shah, Umr Shah, Khadal, Muhammad Mir, Wahdat, Kalandar, Ali Shah, Muhammad Amir, Musanam, Fazlo, Hamid, Gulai, Zarghoor, Gul Hassan, Butai ; in the plains, Mir Afghan, Hosain.

*E.*—THE AFFILIATED CLANS—What I have called by this title are clans supposed to be descended from Mussammat Dawai, second wife of Mohmand ; and hence Dawezai, the sons of Dawai; but no one is able to assign them a clear place in the tribal pedigree, and as the Koochi

Dawezai are considered Akhundzadas, I have preferred to consider the three clans mentioned below as distinct from the main body of the Mohmand tribe. They are—

(1.) The Dawezai.

(2.) The Utmanzai.

(3.) The Kukkozai.

The first two are divided into *Koochis* or nomads, who in winter leave their families in Ningrahar and travel between Cabul and Peshawar as carriers of merchandise (the fine Koochi camels are well known,) and in summer migrate to the grassy slopes beyond the Unai pass and the springs of the Helmund ; and the *Udredunkai*, who have fixed habitations, divided by the whole breadth of the Mohmand tribe from their brethren the Kuchis.

1.—The Dawezai.

a.—*Udredunkai* live in the Pipal valley, sub-divided into :—

(1.) Bazai, villages Kaura, Dab.

(2.) Mamazai, villages Zor Pipal, Shigni.

Headmen : Shahbaz, Suleiman, Mozamdin, Nur Ahmed, Sultan, Morcha, Zakum, Ali Khan, Shapi, Allah Yar, Syad Muhammad ; about 500 men.

b.—The *Koochis*, are considered Akhundzadas and are never robbed. They are divided into :—

(1.) Hussan Khel, villages Gulai in Ningrahar and on Upper Helmund.

Headmen : Haji Islam, Abdul Karim, Abdul Wahab, Ghulam, Lalagai.

(2.) Mandozai, villages Chardeh, also in Peshawar valley and on Upper Helmund.

Headmen : Samundar, Habibulla, Firoz, Tila.

(3.) Hazarbuz, villages Baru and on Upper Helmund.

Headmen : Sher Muhammad, Fazl, Fazli Ahmed.

(4.) (Associated), the Za Khel, villages Girdi Kas and on Unai Pass.

Headman : Azamdin.

*Note.*—Ghilzai Koochis also winter in Reina, Dakka, Kam Dakka, Ambar Khana, Hisarshahi, Chapribar.

2.—The Utmanzai.

a.—*Udredunkai* at Yakhdaud. They consist of :—

(1.) Amano Khel, } Village Yakhdaud.
(2.) Khadi " }

Headmen : Badshah, Mazr-ulla, Khwaja Muhammad, Amir Jan, Maluk Aga-ud-din, Babu, Mubarak Shah, Sadin, Mauzarai, Shahdad, Nawab Khan.

b.—*Koochis* are divided into :—

(1.) Koli Khel. }
(2.) Bahadur Khel. } Villages Dakka, Girdi and Peshawar valley in winter, Upper Helmund in summer.
(3.) Mirak Khel. }

Headmen : Asim, Abdulla Nur, Khandad, Musahib Din ; they are at bitter feud with the Mirjan Khel, Shinwaris.

3.—The Kukkozai. Their sections are :—

(*a*.) Naraizai, village Ambar Khan, part of Basaule.

(*b*.) Ahmedakzai, village Basaule.

(*c*.) Baekzai, village Hazarnao.

Headmen : Nawab, Fazl, Jamher Khan, Rasul, Aga Jan, Halim Jan, Askar, Sultan Janes, Mir, Maaz Khan.

*F.*—THE VASSAL CLANS.

The Mullagoris of Tartarra and the Safis, east of Mitai and north of Kamali, in particular the Kandhari section, are clans who hold their lands by sufferance of the Mohmands; they acknowledge their inferiority and are bound to pay the Khan of Lalpura occasional tribute and to hospitably entertain Mohmands passing through their villages. It is not improbable that the Mullagoris are relics either of the now humble Dilazaks who were swept away before the irruption of Afghans or that they are remnants of the bands of Bayazid, the notori-

ous Pir Rokhan who flourished temp. Akber Shah, and descendants of whose followers are to be seen in the so-called Shiahs of Tirah. Tiny settlements of Mullagoris are to be found on the outskirts of the great eastern tribes, at Tsitsobi, where Afridi meets Shinwari, on the eastern slopes of Tartarra the border between Peshawar and the Mohmands, and at Sapri above Abazai on the Utman Khel Frontier. Their own traditions proclaim them to be the relics of a great Kingdom, whose capital was somewhere near Pesh Bolak, which would favor the Dilazak theory. As for the Safis, it is almost certain that they are converts to Islam from the Kafirs. Their fanaticism may be due to the recent date of this change. And the position of the tribe, from Kohistan and Tagao to Bajour, on the confines of Kafiristan, the language spoken by them in Kashmung, and the fact that they are certainly not Afghans, nor of the Hindkai class, testify to the correctness of this supposition.

The Mullagoris of Tartarra are comprised by the—

(1.) Tar Khel.
(2.) Par ,,
(3.) Daulat ,,

Their villages are : Shahid Miana, Zwara Miana, Lwara Miana, Murdadaud, Kambela Zmakabara Srah Killi.

For the names of headmen and further information I would refer to statistics by Major Conolly, late Political Officer, Khyber.

The Mullagoris are notorious as thieves and middlemen for thieves. Otherwise they earn a scanty livelihood by the sale of ropes, mats and sandals of dwarf palm (mazari), and by grazing cattle and cultivating the little ground they possess.

The Safis are divided into—

(1.) Kandaharis.
(2.) Gurbuz.
(3.) Wader.
(4.) Masaud.

1. The Kandaharis are sub-divided into Sepah, Kamal Khel, Mirza Khel and Amrohi.

Their villages are : Waidansha, Karel, Chingai, Kundo Kuhai, Amroh.

The headmen are : Shamsai, Sherdil, Mazim, Musai, Khanpur, Jangrez, Zarapai, Mian Khan, Abbas.

2. The Gurbuz live in Taraki Tangi, Lakkarai, Kamar Killi, Katasar (not the Gandao Katasar). Their sub-divisions are : Badinzai, Suleimanzai, Shahzada Kor, Katasar.

3. The Masaud consist of Shamsho Kor, Aba Khel, Madur Kor, and Ghilzai Kor; they occupy Chinarai, Ziarat, Khazina, Kokpan.

4. The Wader section lives on the northern slopes of the range south of the Kunar river beyond Mitai. In conclusion, a small colony of Shinwaris on the border of Bajour near Nowagai is noticeable. They number about 200 families, are either captives of war, or, as they say, the descendants of a Shinwari faqir, who settled at Ziarat Sheikh Babba, and inhabit the Sheikh Baba-darra and Chamarkand valleys.

W. R. H. MERK.

## APPENDIX A.

### MOHMAND.

- Tarakzai.
  - Tarakzai proper.
  - Halimzai.
  - Isa Khel.
  - Burhan Khel.
- Baezai.
- Khwaezai.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Affiliated clans | ... | Dawezai ... } Kuchi and Udre-dunki.<br>Utmanzai ... }<br>Kukkozai. |
| Vassal clans | ... | Mandai Khel.<br>Safis and Kandaharis.<br>Mullagoris. |

## APPENDIX B.

### TARAKZAI.

- Dadu Khel.
  - Dalkha Kor.
    - Muradi Kor.
    - Asaf Kor.
  - Shah Mansur Khel.
    - Hyatai Kor.
    - Loe Shilman sections.
    - Durma Kor.
      - Morcha Khel.
- Kasim Khel.
  - Kani Khel.
  - Khalil Kor.

## APPENDIX C.

### HALIMZAI.

- Sepah (in Kamali).
  - Shah Beg Kor.
  - Nazar Beg Kor.
  - Yusaf Khel.
- Bul Khel (in Gandao).
  - Hamza Kor.
  - Busha Kor.
- Tsalor Plara. (in Gandao).
  - Katasar.
  - Ghunda Khel.
  - Khojawas Kor.
  - Ato Khel (in Kamali)

## APPENDIX D.

### KHWAEZAI.

- Maimand Khel.
- Doatta Khel.
- Khadi Kor.

### BAEZAI.

- Usman Khel.
  - Khuga Khel.
  - Isa Khel.
  - Atamar Khel.
  - Koda Khel.
- Sepah.
  - Musa Khel.
  - Miro Khel.
  - Bara Khel.

# APPENDIX E.

## UTMANZAI, OF YAKHDAND.

- Amazo Khel.
- Khadi Khel.

## DAWEZAI, OF PIPAL.

- Bazai.
  - Hassan Kor.
  - Anai Kor.
- Mamazai.
  - Haji Kor.
  - Khoedad Kor.

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## KUCHIS.

(1) UTMANZAI.

- Koli Kor.
- Bahadur Kor.
- Mirak Kor.

(2) DAWEZAI.

- Hassan Khel.
- Hazarbuz.
- Affiliated.
  - Mandozai.
  - (Za Khel.)

# APPENDIX F.

## THE KHAN KHEL OF LALPURA.

MALIK MORCHA (TEMP. AKBAR SHAH).

- *Kalandar Khan.*
  - *Shat Khan* (killed by Shinwaris).
    - *Muqarrab Khan* (temp. Aurangzebe).
      - By Mussammat Araba, 1st wife.
        - *Zain Khan, Baba* (killed at Panipat 1761).
          - *Balots Khan.*
            - *Arsala* (executed by Timur Shah).
              - Mir Afzal (killed by Saadat Khan).
                - Mohsan (alive in Hazarnao; very old).
            - *Mazulla* (killed by Sadulla Khan).
              - Allahdad.
                - Shahbaz.
                  - Jabbar (alive in Hazarnao).
                  - Khowas.
              - Nur Muhammad (killed by Sadulla).
              - Hamidulla (descendants obscure in Kama).
              - Samad (descendants obscure, in Kunar).
              - *Torabaz Khan.* (Mackeson's Khan).
                - *Riza Khan*
                  - Malang (killed by Nausher Khan).
                - Fazl Jan (died 1881).
                  - Zakriya (in Mastali Kama).
                - Ahmad Jan (in Kama).
            - *Sadulla* (killed by Mir Afzal Khan).
              - *Saadat Khan.* (V. below) (Died in captivity.)
              - Sadiq Khan.
                - Bahman
                - Musa.
                - Ahmadulla.
                - (alive in Chaknewar).
              - Nawab. (killed by Torabaz Khan).
                - Mihrab (in Lalpura, great traveller).
                - Shamun.
                  - Ajun. (in Lalpura).
              - Baba Khan.
                - Nausher
                - *Zerdad*
                - Lalajan,
                - (all in Chaknewar).
              - Muhammad (descendants obscure, in Masingh).
        - Payinda.
          - Badulla.
            - Habib.
              - Musa (alive in Lalpura).
        - Hakim.
          - Mahsim.
            - Ghulam Muhammad.
              - Bahadur. (was in Tashkand with the Amir, now in Lalpura).
          - Langar.
      - By Mussammat Jahana, 2nd wife.
        - Ahmad.
          - Rahmat.
            - Mahmut
              - Masaud.
                - Nasir
                - Shahwali.
                - Mansur.
                - (All alive in Lalpura).
        - Lashkar.
          - Buzurg.
            - Manai.
              - Payindai.
        - Fatteh.
          - Muhammad Ali.
            - Yusuf.
              - Fakir Muhammad (alive in Lalpura).
  - Chohar Khan (descendants in the Mohmand villages of the Doaba tahsil, Peshawar District. Representative is Ata Muhammad Khan).
  - Haji (descendants obscure. Live in Ningrahar).

# APPENDIX G.

## KHAN KHEL OF LALPURA.—*(Continued)*.

### SAADAT KHAN.

- By first wife, Khan Khel of Bajour.
  - Fatteh Muhammad (no issue, Killed by Sultan Muhammad.)
  - *Sultan Muhammad* (killed by Malang).
    - (1) By a Morcha Khel wife, from Baru.
      - Mir Ahmed (killed in 1880 by Chardeh family. No issue.)
      - Arsala (obscure, at Masinghi).
    - (2) By a Morcha Khel wife, from Peshawar District.
      - *Muhammad Shah Khan.*
        - a daughter.
      - Akram (a minor).
    - (3) By the sister of Khowas Khan Zakka Khel.
      - Abdul Aziz (at Chihalgazi).
      - Hassan (a minor).
  - *Nauroz Khan* (died in 1877)
    - *vide* below
  - Mussammat Kamar Jan, married to Amir Sher Ali Khan; issue
    - Amir Yakub Khan.
    - Ayub Khan.
- By 2nd wife, sister of Ali Khan, Pesh Bolak.
  - Muhabat
  - Sher Muhammad
  - (Obscure, at Pesh Bolak).
- By a slave girl.
  - Inayat-ulla.
  - Bahram.
  - (At Siah Choh, Bahram murdered Major Macdonald at Michni, 1873).
- By 3rd wife, Syad of Kunar.
  - Yar Muhammad (with Ayub Khan)
  - Dad Muhammad.
  - Ata Muhammad.
  - (at Chinarai, near Bajour, obscure.)

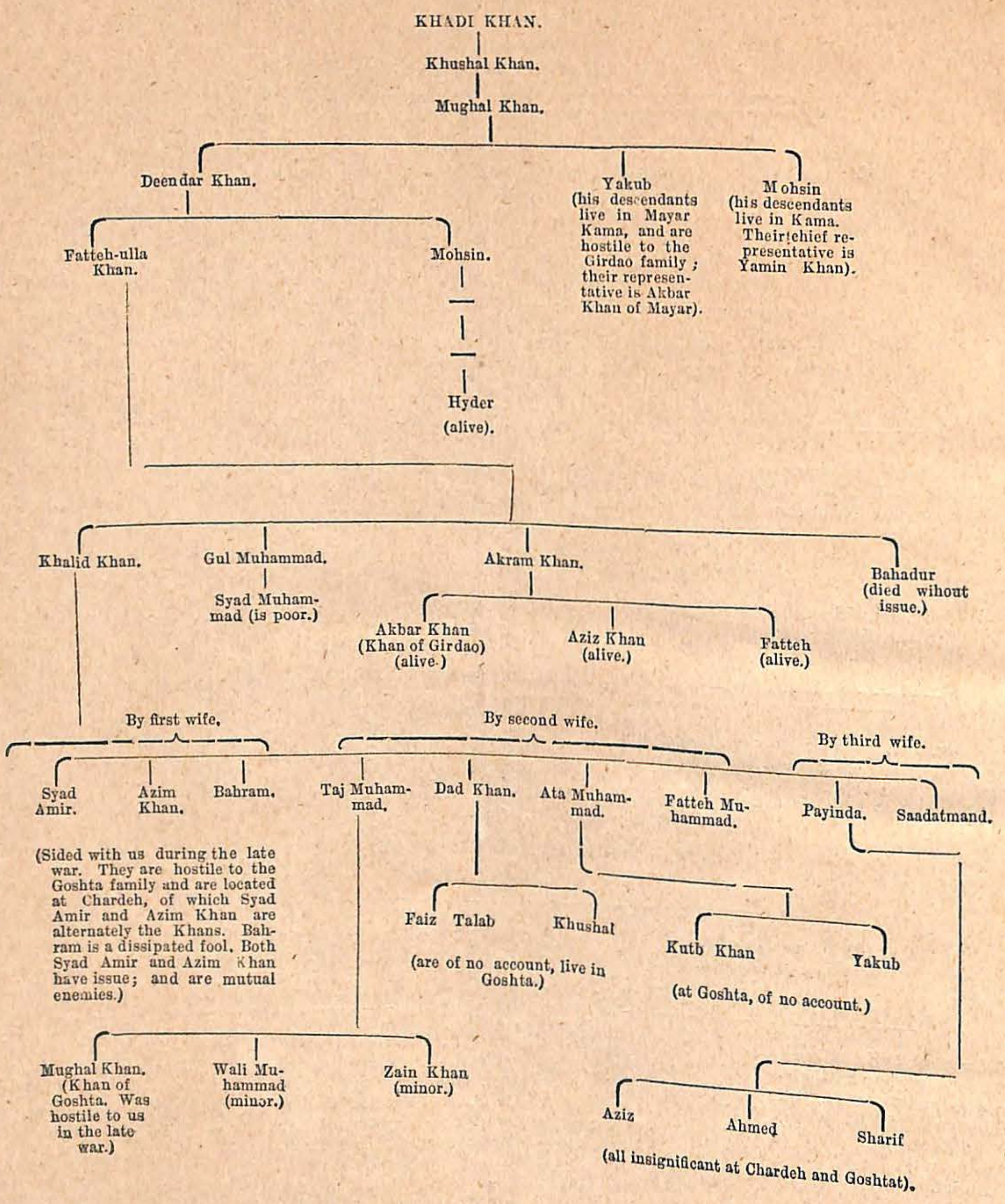
### ISSUE OF NAUROZ KHAN.

- (1) By a sister of Azim Khan of Chardeh.
  - *Muhammad Sadiq Khan* (at Baru; Married to a Khwaezai wife, and to daughter of Muhammad Afzal Khan, Shinwari).
    - An infant son.
  - Muhamad Ali (At Baroo.)
- (2) By a grand daughter of Saadulla Khan, Morcha Khel.
  - *Akbar Khan* Khan of Lalpura (Married to a daughter of Syad Mahmud, Badshah of Kunar, and to a daughter of Yar Muhammad Khan of Marez, Shinwari).
    - An infant daughter.
  - Hassan Jan (Married to a niece of Wali Muhammad Khan Zakha Khel.)

NOTE.—The names of those who at one time or other have held the Khanship of Lalpura are printed in *Italics*.

# APPENDIX H.

## GENEALOGY OF THE BAEZAI KHAN KHEL.




W. R. H. MERK.

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